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THE MARITIME FISHERIES: A PROBLEM IN CO-ORDINATION

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of the College of Business Administration of Boston University in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Business Administration.

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PREFACE

As I sat down to write a preface for this manuscript, I found myself thinking of a sentence from another preface. In the preface to The World Court Myth written by Mr. James V. Giblin and colleagues of the Boston University debating team of 1923, the reader will meet this analytic sentence: "Most prefaces are in the nature of an explanation or an apology." With that piercing criticism in mind, I am including here sentiments neither explanatory nor apologetic.

At the outset I feel bound to confess that this piece of work was one of the most worth-while tasks I have ever undertaken. Regardless of the worth of the completed study, the process of investigation involved and the marshalling of the findings obtained, was an educative experience of the greatest value. While this short monograph involved more research along uncharted channels than an American reader would suspect--for data is not collected here as methodically as in Washington's country--, I found the experience to be an excellent training. As a great man once said, "Now that I have finished I know how to begin."

Then, too, I must take this opportunity to thank those who have helped me so generously. While it is impossible here to name all whom I have interviewed, and the number who have responded to my letters and questionaires, I thank them one and all. However, I would be an ingratiate if it did not mention the debt I will always be under to Dr. M. M. Coady, organizer of the U. M. F., for innumerable ways in which he has been of assistance. Also, I must recognize especially the many courtesies of Hon. W. F. Found, Deputy Minister of Fisheries, and his lieutenant, Mr. W. J. E. Casey. Finally, I wish to thank Mr. Donald Morrison, fellow Bostonian and student of St. F. X. University, for his tireless assistence in the preparation of the man script. His skilled fingers made possible the attractive form of the study. Finally, I must thank Professor L. F. Doherty and Stuart Cox of the Research Bureau of Boston University for the material bearing on the American fishing industry.

They deserve the major share of any praise this thesis may merit. To me alone belong its faults. These I explain like Dr. Johnson. When a lady once asked him why he defined pastern as the knee of a horse, he exclaimed, "Pure ignorance, Madam, pure ignorance."

St. Francis Xavier University
Antigonish, Nova Scotia
February 26, 1932

J. F. O'Brien

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PART I

THE INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

The Historical Background

"Fych they have so great plente
That in hayuns taxe and slayne they be
With stavys withouten fayle
How frenchmen and others have founden the trade
That yerely of fyche there they lade
Above C. Sayle.....JOHN RASTELL, 1517

Such runs but one of the many old documents relating to the prosperous fishing trade off the coast of what are now the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Yet, some of the records are older and quainter than that. For example, have you ever heard of "Bac laos"? No? I am sure many Canadians would not recognize the name. Yet, in the far-off days of Christopher Columbus, John Cabot gave that name to this part of the continent when he found the Basque fishermen from France and Spain carrying on a large cod fishery there. As one might suspect from the foregoing, "Bacalaos" is the Basque name for codfish.

Indeed, there is good reason to believe that even before these famous voyages of "discovery"---so runs Indian tradition---there were many European vessels fishing off the Atlantic shore of Canada. However, be that as it may, the early records are surprisingly numerous and complete. We quote from Innis: "In a

Portugese document dated October 15, 1506, reference is made to a grant of possession of the tithes that come from the fish from the fisheries of Newfoundland". "A French document, dated January, 1514, grants a pardon to the Master of a Newfoundland fishing vessel, and an other document dated December 14-17, 1514, an agreement between the Monks of the abbey of Beauport and the inhabitants of the island of Brehat, refers to the Newfoundland cod. Documents dated February 18, 1520, March 6, 1521, March 31, 1521, and February 6, 1527 refer to vessels bound for Newfoundland from Bayonne"....H. A. Innis, Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, Page 4.

But still more evidence exists than the documents referred to in the previous paragraph. Biggar gives as many more. According to the latter authority, documents dated August 21, 1523, refer to La Rochelle boats at Newfoundland; of September 15, 1523, to the CATHERINE of BINIC, the MANGUELINE of PENMIC, and other vessels; of October 15, 1523, to the MANGUELINE of BLAVET, of October 22, to the MANGUELINE of ST. BRIEUC; of January, 1524, to the seizure of a vessel of Rouen "laden wt new found londe fysche", of December 2, 1531, to a possible inquiry into the plundering of a French vessel from Newfoundland. These documents are very good evidence of the size and importance of the fishery during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Yet, one should not leave this to be without mentioning two very interesting sources of evidence: Purchas, his Pilgrims, and the Act of the Admiralty drawn up during the second year of the reign of Edward VI. In the first, the author refers to a voyage of the MARY GUILDFORD, in 1582. He writes as follows: "The third of August we entered into a good haven called Saint John and there we found eleven saile of Normans and one Brittaine and all a fishing and so we are ready to depart towards Cape de Bas and that is twenty five leagues as shortly as we have fished....in the Haven of Saint John, written in haste 1527. By your servant John Mut".

The Admiralty Act referred to in the above paragraph, exempts from taxation the fishermen and merchants of fish whose products come from Maritime and other waters. One section of it contains this statement:

"By this act it appeareth that the trade out of England to Newfoundland was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the sixth, namely, in the years 1547, and it is much to be marvelled at by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched."..... H. I. Bigger, The Voyages of Jacques Cartier, Pages 21 to 77.

In the light of the evidence cumulated before, I feel that one is justified in concluding that the fishing banners of the shores of what is now the Maritime Provinces is certainly contemporaneous with, if not older than, the discovery of America. But let us now roughly sketch in the historical narrative down to more modern times.

Of the period immediately following the days of Columbus and Cabot, the available documents from the Canadian archives treat of the fishing in the French colonies before 1714. These narratives give the modern reader a very vivid picture of the industry at that time, and the lives lived by those hardy mariners. The first of these documents to be written up in contemporary histories[1] is one in very readable French concerning the type of agreements made for the outfitting of a ship for a voyage in 1598. Another document, Productions Interieures de l'Isle du Cap Breton,[2] points out the specialization in the industry even in that early date, 1706. According to this memorandum for transmission to the Count Pontchartrian, the Basques and Normans at the harbor called Isle Percee desired different types of fish for home markets. The Normans did not care for dried fish, while the green fish (salted fresh) was not wanted by the Basques. So they solved the problem of the unwanted catch by a simple, equitable exchange, as follows.

1. Breard-Documents relatifs a la marine Normand (Rouen,1900) P.79-
2. From the Canadian Archives, C11C, VIII, [illegible]

".....les Normands ne veullent point de poisson sec, les Basques n'en veullent de vert, ils s'accommodent ensemble, les Normands prennent le vert et les Basques et les Basques reçoivent des Normands leurs voilles molues pour une grande, ainsi tous le monde est content".....

Going further into the old French papers in the Archives, we find that each fishery had its own difficulties. In Newfoundland the French had been using large boats; at Isle Percee, small boats. Now as the fishing area is extended along the Atlantic coast, new methods are needed to cope with the troubles of the off-shore fishery, better handled by the English. A new type of boat was needed--and pages of the volumes in the Canadian Archives report the endless discussions over the ideal design for such craft.

Still other papers mention the extent of the settlement of the country as a result of the fisheries. As the French, being interested primarily in the dried fish industry, needed only a supply base in land, they were not so anxious to explore and develope the new country. Thus at the beginning of the eighteenth century they had established settlements only at Isle Percee, and along the harbours of Cape Breton. The following data from the archives gives some of the figures:[1]

1. From the Canadian Archives, C11B, 1, pg. 2, 600-601.

	Inhabitants	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Louisbourg.....	69	50	40	[illegible]
Le Bell ine.....	15	19	[illegible]	[illegible]
Au Scatteris.....	21	15	[illegible]	[illegible]
Au Brouchois				
au St. Esprit.....	[illegible]	8	[illegible]	[illegible]
Au Port Toulouse et				
petit Degre.....	5	29	[illegible]	[illegible]
Au Port Dauphin.....	15	17	[illegible]	36
	130	121	40	[illegible]

Total des Ames.....[illegible]

Even with the gradual opening up of small settlements along the coast of Arcadia (Nova Scotia), the French were essentially fishermen. While they were forced to grow some staple foods for their existence, they did not attempt to develop their agriculture or commerce. Indeed, they were so indifferent to agricultural efficiency that this---perhaps over caustic, but rather amusing---comment was made by an English observer in 1754: "For as to the present inhabitants they are rather a pest, an incumbence than of an advantage to the country, being a proud lazy, obstinate people Unskilful in the methods of agriculture, nor will be led or drove into a better way of thinking, and (what is still worse) greatly disaffected to the Government. They raise (it is true) both Corn and Cattle on their lands but wants no cleaning but they have not in almost a century clear'd the Quantity of 300 acres of wood land. From their Corn and

[illegible] of Dun for [illegible], was [illegible] use of [illegible] is increasing so as to become [illegible] Instead of [illegible] it on small [illegible] they [illegible] it to [illegible] their [illegible] to another Spot".....E. Phillips[1]

Such a crazy [illegible] could only lead to the importation of foodstuffs and other products to the fishing colonies. Most provisions and supplies came from New England, Quebec, Canada, and the West Indies. Inevitably economic problems arose. The French wished to trade fish for other merchandise. The English ships from the colonies and the mother country did not come to barter directly. They wished to be paid in money, and, of course, trade again. The visiting French merchant ships would exchange for rum, tobacco, wines, and other typical French products.

With the treaty of Utrecht in 171[illegible], the fisheries of the provinces came into the hands of the English. They organized the fisheries on a more permanent and extensive basis. The French, who carried on the fishing industry in small vessels, and made frequent trips to the shore, usually had a very [illegible] of fish. The English, however, were equipped with larger vessels, thus enabling the fishing expeditions to be effected. The [illegible] of fish was naturally lowered, and in order to compete with the higher quality of the French fish, they became finely prepared.

1. From the Canadian Archives. P. S. A., [illegible], 60.

Even in those far-off days, the market for cod fish of the coast of Nova Scotia was extensive. Before the year 1500, great quantities of the fish, which was cleaned and dried on the beach at Canso, was shipped to this country. After that date, however, the fish was shipped chiefly to the West Indies, and to any other country, whose ships happened to be in the vicinity of Canso. New England was also a profitable market for the English fishermen.

So rapid was the growth of the fishing industry in and around Canso, that in 1720 Nova Scotia became one of the most valuable of the English provinces. At that time there were two hundred and fifty vessels operating, with two thousand men employed.[1]

The problem dealing with inferior quality of fish was met with even in those days, when the maritime fishing industry was in its infancy. Traders who came for the fish were given products which were not properly cured, or they were given a mixed cargo, which soon destroyed the good grade of fish. This spoiled the markets for this fish to a great extent, and measures were taken to overcome this condition.

1. A. Phillips, Canadian Economic History, Page 142

In 1714 there was a drive started to avoid this state of affairs. Some of the argument given for the poor quality of the fish, besides the one on the preceding page, was that the fishermen lived in New England, and by the time the fish was taken back to the shores of New England, the hot weather had spoiled the fish. In one of the old documents, Colonel Vetch tells us that the New Englanders were invited to settle in Nova Scotia, for the good of themselves and the fishing industry, which was dying.

In the early days of the industry there was a great deal of lawlessness. Some fishermen, who were entrusted by their masters with schooners, often ran away with the vessels to the coast of Newfoundland and sold them. Others would often come to the small settlements of Nova Scotia and steal the fish which was being cured on the beach. The inhabitants of the settlement would be powerless to pursue, being out on the water fishing. Ships were burned for the iron they contained, and the refuse of the ship, such as fish bones and heads, was thrown into the water, which poisoned the fish, and drove them to other waters.[1]

With the decline of the fishing industry at Canso, the immigrants from Germany settled at the place now called Lunenburg, in Nova Scotia. They carried the fishing trade on to a

1. Canadian Archivis, C. S. A. LXXVI, 41-44.

small extent, but did not make immediate progress.

The American Revolution then broke out. The New England states, which had been a base of supply for the settlers of the provinces, were now closed to them. Great hardship arose among the settlers with the increase of population due to the Loyalists coming to Canada. Many pleas were sent to the King by the Govenor or Nova Scotia for relief, and trade was at a standstill. This condition was dispelled, however, after years of distress, and with the revival of industry and the building of roads and wharves, the opening of the former markets and the free land grants, the fishing industry started toward fulfilling its promise, to be one of Canada's greatest industries.

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CHAPTER II

The Fishery Resources and Extent

Due to the length of the coastline of the Maritime Provinces and Quebec* and the proximity of the North Atlantic fishing grounds, the fishing banks available to Canadian fishermen are the most extensive in the world. Because of its accessibility to these extensive fishing banks, Nova Scotia is most favorably situated as a base for fishing operations. The extent of these fishing banks is shown in the following table:[1]

	Square Miles
Grand Bank.....	6,010
Green Bank.....	1,450
St. Pierre Bank.....	4,100
Quereau Bank.....	7,000
Misaine Bank.....	1,920
The Gully.....	1,200
Western Bank.....	6,920
Le Have Bank.....	790
Roseway Bank.....	175
Le Have Ridges.....	1,575
Browns Bank.....	1,574
Seal Island Ground.....	1,250
Georges Bank.....	6,498
South Channel...(about)...	1,300

For a brief description of these banks, we will quote from the Royal Commission report mentioned in the bibliography.

1. Royal Commission on Fisheries, page 7.
* The references to Quebec are unavoidable. See appendix

"The Grand Bank, lying southeast of Newfoundland, is always the most important cod fishing ground in the world, and is frequented by fishing vessels and steam-trawlers from France, Portugal, Spain, United States, Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces of Canada. It is in the form of an irregular triangle, one side of which is 2.4 miles, another 245 miles, and the third 264 miles long. Green Bank lies between Grand Bank and St. Pierre Bank; a portion of it is regarded as an excellent halibut ground, although cod are also taken there in considerable quantities. It is 82 miles long and 36 miles wide. The fishing season here is usually from April to October. St. Pierre Bank is only about 10 miles distant from the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Cod and halibut are found here in considerable quantities, but it is not often resorted to by Canadian vessels seeking cod. It is 125 miles long and its width varies from 35 to 65 miles.

The fishing season on this bank begins about the first of May and extends into November. Queree Bank is an important fishing area, some 120 miles by 47 miles in extent. Cod and halibut are the principal fish taken here but haddock and hake are also abundant.

"Sable Island Bank, or Western Bank, lies east and south of the mainland of Nova Scotia, and is a well known and important fishing ground. It is about 156 miles long and 76 miles wide, Sable Island being at its eastern end. Cod and halibut are the principal fish taken here, the former being most abundant from March to June, although taken in quantities in later months. Haddock are also found here in substantial porportions. Le Have Bank, lying off the southeast of Nova Scotia, is relatively small. Cod and haddock are the principal fish taken there, and they are most abundant in the early winter months, although they are to be found in all seasons of the year. It is 52 miles long by 4 miles wide. Le Have Ridges is a continuation of the same ground, but apparently haddock are not there to be found in any great quantities. It has a length of 45 miles. Roseway Bank lies to the west of Le Have Bank, and is about 21 miles by 15 miles in area. Cod and haddock are the principal fish taken on this fishing ground. Georges Bank is the most important and largest fishing ground near the United States coast, and is about 150 miles by 90 miles in extent.

Cod and haddock are particularly abundant in parts of these grounds during the months of February, March, and April. Browns Bank is separated from Georges Bank by 15 miles only, and is some 60 miles by 45 miles in extent. Cod, haddock, and

"halibut are the principal fish taken there. Sable Island Ground, about 60 miles in extent, lies between Browns Bank and Sable Island and is much frequented by Nova Scotian vessels. Cod and haddock are the principal fish there taken. South Channel is practically an extension of Georges Bank, and is much resorted to by the Boston and Gloucester fleets; this fishing ground is particularly prolific in haddock; and, being near United States fishing ports, is therefore, of special value in the production of fresh haddock for the United States markets."

These banks, embracing an area of nearly 70,000 square miles, have yielded annually an average of eleven hundred million pounds of cod alone, and is undoubtedly the greatest cod and haddock fishery in the world.

Besides the fishing banks mentioned, where cod and haddock are the principal products, there is approximately two hundred thousand square miles of fishing area adjacent to the Maritime Provinces; the Dominion of Canada has absolute control over fifteen thousand square miles of the inshore fishing waters. The fish taken from these extensive areas consist of cod, haddock, hake, herring, halibut, pollock, mackerel, sardines, salmon, smelts, alewives, swordfish, tuna and shellfish, principally, lobsters, scallops, oysters, and clams.

The average yearly value of the catch in the Maritime

Provinces from 1921 to 1926 inclusive was over [illegible] or over 37 per cent of the value of the total catch of all fish taken in Canada during that period. In 1926 the value of the catch was nearly $20,000,000. These figures show that the fishing industry is not merely of vital importance to the Maritime Provinces, but is also a most valuable asset to Canada. This condition is shown more clearly by the following table.[1]

Year	Nova Scotia $	New Brunswick $	P. E. Island $	Magdalen Islands $
1897..	[illegible]	3,582,507	1,057,426	418,069
1907..	8,090,546	3,994,135	954,946	299,510
1907..	7,602,[illegible]30	5,[illegible]00,564	1,492,69[illegible]	240,221
1926..12,505,922		5,525,524	1,[illegible]50,954	6[illegible],22[illegible]

THE FISHING INDUSTRY

LOBSTERS

In the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, the lobster industry ranks as one of the most important and most valuable branches of the fisheries. The fishermen of these provinces engage in both the canning of the lobsters and the selling of the live lobsters. In 1927 the total production was 31,198,500 pounds, of which the total value to the fishermen was approximately

1. Royal Commission on Fisheries, Page 9.

$7,660,166. The live lobster industry is much more remunerative to the fishermen, because the canned lobster sells for about eight cents a pound, while the lobster sells for about twenty - five cents a pound. However, the number of canneries in the Maritime Provinces are increasing yearly. In New Brunswick there are 79, In Nova Scotia 114, and in Prince Edward Island there are 88. The total capital invested in traps, factory buildings and equipment was $1,265,100.

In recent years the money value of the lobster industry has kept to a fairly level average, although the catch has greatly declined in quantity. While the greatest decrease has been felt in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, there has been a steady increase in the catch in Nova Scotia. The lobsters have become so scarce in the provinces, that three times the number of traps are necessary now, than was the case ten years ago. This depletion is partly due to illegal fishing, that is fishing out of season, and the taking of small lobsters, less than nine inches, and of spawn-carrying lobsters.

A bird's eye view of the size of the lobster catch in the Maritime Provinces, showing the decrease, is shown in the following table:[1]

1. Royal Commission on Fisheries, Page 11.

Province	1[illegible] cwts.	1[illegible] cwts.	1929 cwts.	1[illegible] cwts.	1[illegible] cwts.
N. S. Coast	1,370	1,251	671	978	7[illegible]
N. B. Coast	27,[illegible]36	24,108	20,[illegible]00	17,917	1[illegible],22[illegible]
P. E. Island	7,507	7,[illegible]93	5,610	5,[illegible]06	[illegible],6[illegible]

Although the Atlantic coast is the premier lobster producing region in the world, the conditions for the breeding of lobsters are not equal. The northerly waters are somewhat too cold, while the waters farther south are too warm. Even in the middle ranges, there are great differences, which is shown by the fact that the waters from the Bay of Fundy to the Strait of Belle Isle are not favorable. In the Bay of Fundy, the lobster is very rare and is very large. This is because they are immigrant lobsters and are several years old. In the Northumberland Strait the lobsters are very numerous and are small in size. The conditions here are very favorable to the breeding of lobsters, because the waters are warm and shallow. As would be suspected the Northumberland Strait has a very productive fishery, although not the best in this region.

The lobster-fishing coast has a frontage of over two thousand miles, including bays, gulfs, and open sea, which yields an annual catch of over forty million pounds. Of this large catch, five million pounds are taken from a forty-five mile stretch, from

Port Maitland to Cape Sable. On account of its nearness to the important markets in the large cities in the United States, fishing has been carried on to a very intensive degree.

A combination of conditions has made this possible. The waters here are very favorable for breeding. The waters are warm, and the rocky condition of the coast furnishes an abundance of food for the growth of the fry. Then again, the rockiness of the coast, makes the fishing hard, and in this way, prevents over fishing, always leaving an abundance of lobsters in the district. These conditions make this locality the best lobster fishery in the world.

LOBSTER POUNDS: Lobster pounds are established to regulate the output of the lobsters. The live lobsters are put in this pound, and kept there until a suitable time arrives in which to sell them; this practice assures a more even market in the lobster industry.

CANNERIES: The number of canneries in the Maritime Provinces far exceeds the requirements of the industry. A large number of these canneries are in excellent condition, and are conducted with every possible attention to cleanliness and sanitation. On the other hand, many of the smaller canneries are inadequate.

This has caused poor products, which is the industry's worst enemy. In these smaller factories, we find careless packing, which is the cause of the foreign market falling off.

MARKETS: Although the market is gradually changing from a canned lobster market of a live lobster market, the former is much greater than the latter. The canned lobster market in Europe has decreased lately, because of the heavy customs duties, depleted currency, poor quality of the pack, and the competition of the Japanese crab meat. But the falling off of this foreign market has stimulated no effort on the part of these canneries to create a home market for these products. Advertising is very rarely resorted to, and therefore the home market is very small. There is also a lack of co-operation among the canners and dealers in standardizing the quality of the product and in marketing. Up to the present, there has been somewhat of a surprising indifference to this necessity.

INSPECTION: There is a general trend in favor of inspection of the canneries in the Maritime Provinces. The fishermen know that they must compete with the Japanese crab meat market in Europe, and therefore are desirous of putting out the best possible product. Up to the present, little or nothing has been done

in this direction.

OYSTERS

During the latter part of the last century, the oyster fishery was one of the most valuable fishing industries in the Maritime Provinces. Recently, however, the story of the oyster industry is one of decline, and in some places, almost of extinction.

Production of oysters reached its highest point in 1878, with nearly sixty five thousand barrels. In 1926, this amount had decreased to less than twenty thousand barrels.[1] The greatest decrease has been felt in Prince Edward Island, although the depletion had been very serious in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The reasons given for this diminution are many. Among these reasons is the method of fishing, which is carried on with tongs or rakes, which bring up large quantities of the soil bottom. It is then dropped back into the water and it covers up and kills the small oysters. Other reasons for the depletion, is the increase of the starfish, which is the enemy of the oyster, and the spread of

1. Royal Commission on Fisheries, Page 22.

disease among the oysters, which was brought about from oysters transferred from other waters.

There is also a bad lack of the knowledge of artificial propagation of oysters. There is not sufficient knowledge as to the best mode of replenishing the oyster areas.

There is considerable conflict among the fishermen as to the provincial and Dominion ownership of the oyster beds. The Dominion Government claims that it owns the beds and has control of the working of this industry, if it was ever to become of value. As it is now, it has the jurisdiction of the three counties Prince Edward Island, while the Provincial Government has charge of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia districts. The Dominion Government policy is to lease the areas out to private owners. These private owners apply proper cultivation, by the application of scientific methods in protecting the stock, and in the general care of the beds. An example of this is shown by the plot to which leased to Mr. Millich of Bourgeois in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. This plot was taken up and Nova Scotia government under the protection of the Dominion Government for experimental purposes.

There is also a considerable waste in the harvesting of

the oyster shells. These shells can be crushed into grit to be fed to poultry [illegible]. There is a growing demand for this product in Canada, and as it is now, it is imported from the United States. Shells are also of value for providing [illegible] cement pieces for the spawn. This waste could be eliminated by the marketing of oysters in bulk, either [illegible] in the shell, but the method of shipment must conform to the demands of the market.

With the introduction of proper cultivation and supervision, the oyster areas of the Maritime Provinces would have an almost unlimited supply.

SCALLOPS

The scallop fisheries of the Maritime Provinces are capable of very great development, though they are very substantial at the present time. The total catch in 1920 was 47,240 barrels, valued at $147,220. Of this quantity, Nova Scotia produced 19,918 barrels; New Brunswick 650 barrels, and Quebec, 2,712 barrels.

The greatest scallop fishery is conducted in the Bay of Fundy, chiefly from the port of Digby, Nova Scotia. In this port there are 30 to 40 vessels specially equipped to operate exclusively in the scallop industry, costing on an average of $2,500 each.

Besides the scallop areas already known, it is [illegible] that there are other large areas near the northern coast of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. However, these areas have not yet been explored.

The fishermen of Chester, Nova Scotia, are seeking a closed period of about three years, in order to replenish the supply, which they fear is diminishing due to over fishing. In Canada there is no set limit as to the amount of fish to be taken by one person, while in Massachusetts and other Atlantic states, the set limit is from ten to fifteen bushels per person a day.

The canning of scallops has not reached any great proportion in the Maritime Provinces. Plans are being made now, however, for the further development of this industry.

SALMON

The salmon industry in New Brunswick has met with difficulties which are not found in other parts of the Maritime Provinces. In order to understand this problem, we must say a few words as to the habits of the salmon. From the early part of the summer months, the salmon ascends the streams to

spawn, the time depending upon the condition of the streams. The young salmon is said to remain in fresh water for two years, after which he returns to the salt water where he reaches his growth. He does not journey far from his native waters, and soon returns to the stream to spawn. On account of the clearing away of the forests, the streams have not now the volume of water nor the coldness, which they had in former years. This makes for unfavorable conditions for the salmon to spawn, and therefore the salmon remains outside waiting for more favorable conditions.

The methods of fishing salmon in the Provinces vary. The most common method is the net-drifting method, which uses a long net, and sometimes several long nets connected, and allow them to drift with the tide. The other methods are those used by the set-net fishermen, who operate from the mouth of the river to the head of the tidal waters. The other set-net fishermen operate above the tidal waters. Then there are the anglers, who are licenced to fish by the Government of New Brunswick, and the riparian owners with fishing rights, leased to them by the Provincial Government. These last classes of fishermen, contend that during the last few years the spring run of salmon has become almost neglible, because of the set-net and net-drifting methods, conducted in the Miramichi Bay

and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. They say that the drift nets prevent the salmon from ascending the river, and they say that the net-drifting method be prevented from operating to such a large degree. When we take into consideration the fact that the net-drifters are allowed to fish only five nights out of the week, and also the number of storms which prevent their working at all, we can conclud that the objections raised by the riparians are absurd.

The salmon fisheries of the Restigouche River and Bay de Chaleur appear to be well maintained. These waters are controlled by riparian fishermen, which are leased to them by the Government.

The following table will show the extent of the salmon fisheries in the Maritime Provinces.[1]

Year	Nova Scotia cwts.	New Brunswick cwts.	P. E. I. cwts.
1920.....	8,761	11,477	
1924.....	10,127	13,763	82
1926.....	12,428	25,121	164

1. Royal Commission on Fisheries. Appendix 5.

SHAD

The shad fisheries are decreasing in the Maritime Provinces, notwithstanding the fact that there was a closed season from 1918 to 1920. In 1861 the catch was close to three and one half million pounds, and while there have been increases and decreases since that time, the catch in 1927 was 500,152 pounds. This is due to the habits of the shad. The shad comes up to the fresh water to spawn, and they congregate in great numbers in definite areas, making it possible for great quantities to be caught with a net. The use of nets is not profitable when the shad returns to sea, because they scatter to all parts of the ocean. The roe is in great demand as a delicacy, the roe being the spawn of the shad.

The shad is caught in rivers, chiefly the St. John, the Petitcodiac, Shubenacadie, Annapolis, Miramichi, and the St. Lawrence. Some fishermen are advocating that a law be passed, which will prohibit the use of nets while the shad are spawning.

SMELTS

The smelt industry is another great industry in the Maritime Provinces. In New Brunswick especially, the fishing of smelts is one of the most profitable fish industries. Although smelts are to be found on both sides of the Atlantic, the most abundant supply is found on the bay which forms at the mouth of the Miramichi River.

This river which drains the central part of the New Brunswick territory, is a very broad and shallow river. The smelts congregate in the shallow warm water in large schools, and it is very easy to catch them with nets or by spearing. In the winter months, the bay freezes over, and the smelts seek protection under this layer of ice, and on account of the coldness of the water, become torpid, making it very easy for the fish to be caught in large quantities.

When the smelts spawn, the fry feed on the small shrimp, which are very abundant in the bay. They thrive and soon become very numerous. So abundant is the supply here, that there is no danger that the supply will be diminished due to over fishing.

In the Province of New Brunswick, smelt fishing would [illegible] in value in the fishery production of the province [illegible] to seventy per cent of the total catch. It produces [illegible] about three million pounds annually in the Miramichi Bay alone, and the province as a whole produces about six million pounds. Nova Scotia produces about 1,[illegible],000 pounds, valued at [illegible], Prince Edward Island produces about 1,5[illegible],000 pounds, valued at $90,670.

The problem which arises among the smelt fishers is that there is no co-operation among the producers, so that there is no set price on the fish for the United States. There is a [illegible] fluctuation of prices, so that the market is unsteady. However, this situation is likely to be straightened out in a few years, as plans are under way for a closer co-operation among the producers.

FRESH FISH

In dealing with the subject of fresh fish, we usually refer to frozen fish as well as the strictly fresh fish, that fish which has been lightly salted, such as boned fillets, Finnan haddies, and kippered herring. Cod, haddock, and flounder,

which frozen fish has not hitherto been considered the staple variety. For this there are several reasons; they are obtainable in large quantities, limits of which have not been reached; they are available at all seasons of the year; and the prices are reasonable.

In former years, the shipments of Canada, from Canada and Montreal, were supplied with fresh fish from the New England States, chiefly because the facilities for the shipment of such fish were not to be found in the Maritime Provinces. To do away with this condition, the Government of Canada, offered to pay one third of the freight charges on the fish shipped from the Maritime Provinces. This started the trade to the large Canadian markets on an upward trend, and since then the Maritime Provinces have been the main base of supply.

When the ground fish are taken from the water, they are cleaned, dressed, and packed in crushed ice in boxes. The purchaser must rely wholly on the shipper as to the quality of the fish. Because of the limited consuming population adjacent to the points of production in the Maritimes, it has not yet been found necessary to establish fish markets or auctions at the landing ports, as is the practice among the fishermen in Great Britain and the United States.

Ground fish [illegible] from [illegible]; 1. In the round (merely cleaned and dressed, [illegible]); 2. Headless (not only cleaned and dressed, but with the head removed); 3. Filleted (the clear flesh of each side with skin, bones and fins).

At the present time the prices fo fresh fish fluctuate from season to season. The consumers or purchasers are advocating a plan which will make the price stable. This will lead to a greater return to both the fishermen and shippers.

An estimate of the amount of ground fish consumed during the year 1920 will be given in the following. This fish was taken from the waters of the [illegible] Provinces.

Markets	Approximate Consumption	Per cent
British Provinces	[illegible] lbs.	15
Quebec and Ontario	31,500,000 lbs.	[illegible]
W. Canada, U. S. and elsewhere	45,000,000 lbs.	[illegible]

DRIED FISH

The dried fish industry has been engaged in [illegible] for a great many years. The British [illegible] are [illegible]

on is a very profitable one , especially Lunenburg County, in Nova Scotia . In 1920 the total production of dried fish in the Maritime Provinces was 150,000 cwts., of which 115,341 cwts., was produced in Nova Scotia. New Brunswick produced 30,000 cwts., and Prince Edward Island, 15, 659 cwts.

The deep sea fisheries of Lunenburg County , Nova Scotia are effected by a large fishing fleet, which operates during certain months of the year. It is in this section that the dried fish industry is carried on to the greatest degree. However, on account of the ready markets for fresh fish, and the saving of time involved, many of the dried fish dealers are turning to the fresh fish industry.

Another cause for the decline of the dried fish industry, is the fact that the young men are going to the cities, so that there is no one to step on the trade. Of course, there are inducements being made at the present time to keep the young men on the vessels. In a few years this condition may be eradicated. At the present time two, three and four sails were in lieu of the more modern boats. This necessitated a short fishing season, whereas, the season would be prolonged if the motor boats were used.

The foreign markets are being cut into by the stock fish dealers of Iceland. This is due to the superior method of drying the fish used by the Icelanders, as compared with that of the Maritime Fisheries. This may be due to the fact that there is no central drying plant in Nova Scotia. The fishermen of this province want the government of Canada, to establish a great plant, where the fish could be washed, cleaned and dried. This would make for a high grade of fish, and a uniform product.

An approximate estimate of the dried fish exports during 1927 can be seen in the following table.[1]

Markets	Weight in cwts.	Value $
Bermuda	1,055	21,[illegible]
British Guiana	4,757	[illegible],270
British Honduras	250	2,514
Barbadoes	5,069	[illegible],947
Trinidad	14,606	229,610
Jamaica	32,136	654,[illegible]37
Brazil	27,436	[illegible],951
Cuba	106,791	[illegible],567
Haiti	1,419	24,111
Italy	95,[illegible]97	[illegible],[illegible]00
Portugal	17,140	90,702
United States	140,092	1,044,147
Porto Rico	110,092	764,104

1. Royal Commission on Fisheries, Page 42

HERRING

The herring is traditionally regarded as one example of the exhaustless resources of the sea, as fishing by man makes so little impression on its abundance. It is found along the entire coast of Canada, but particularly in the waters off Charlott County, New Brunswick. Here the herring is found in great quantities, so here is produced over forty per cent of the entire catch, notwithstanding the fact that the coast line is only thirty-five miles long. There are several reasons for this abundance of herring, the chief one being that these waters provide excellent spawning grounds for the young herring. The current, which is very strong, stirs up the bottom of the ocean, and brings up quantities of food, and this stirring up of the water, keeps the temperature about the same throughout the year.

Although the quantity of fish has not diminished, the market for herring has decreased considerably. This may be due to the poor quality of the pickled herring, although the quality has shown a slight improvement since the Fish Inspection Act of 191 . In the three year period between 1924 and 1926, the export of herring was 50,000 barrels, while the five year period between 1919 and 1924 was 6 ,000 barrels.

The small immature herring are caught and packed as sardines. There is considerable market for this product. The other herring are caught in the spawning stage. This practice of catching the young herring, and the spawning herring does not decrease the supply however.

MACKEREL

The mackerel is essentially a summer fish, but it is caught occasionally in other months of the year. It appears in May in the waters off the outer coast of Nova Scotia and later in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Although the abundance of mackerel has varied in the past, there is no indication of the supply diminishing.

In the spring, when the mackerel are spawning, they are of very poor quality, and while the catch has declined during the last thirty years, there is still a considerable quantity of pickled spring mackerel marketed at prices which yield profits to the fishermen.

The market for the spring catch has declined greatly in the last few years, leaving exporters with a heavy quantity of

stock on their hands. The United States, which has been one of the biggest markets for the Maritime mackerel, has not taken so great a quantity in recent years, owing to the increase of the mackerel catch in their own waters.

As in the case of herring, there is great need of improvement in the pickeling of mackerel. This condition is prevalent everywhere, and some of the fishermen admit that the art of picklin' fish is lost to a great many of them. If this condition is improved, the markets will undoubtedly increase.

THE CANNING INDUSTRY

The canning of fish other than lobster, has not yet been extensively engaged in throughout the Maritime Provinces. The largest output of canned fish is the sardine, which reaches its greatest production at Black's Harbour, Charlott County, New Brunswick. In this county, one company produces about 500,000 cases of sardines. This canned product is shipped to over seventy different countries. The success of this industry is due to the natural breeding grounds to which the cannery is adjacent, and to good management and aggressive sales organization.

As an example of the tendency in the Maritime Provinces for a larger canning industry, that were forty eight licenses granted for the establishing of new firms during the years 1926. Nine of these were granted in Prince Edward Island, fourteen in New Brunswick, and twenty-five in Nova Scotia. Outlining the large production of this industry, it can not be developed to its fullest capacity. The clam canning industry, has great possibilities in Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, where the quantity of clams is great.

Scallops and oysters are canned in small quantities, but this industry are not yet begun, together with the canning of cod roes and then fish.

Other fish canned in the Maritime Provinces, in varied quantities, are salmon, herring, mackerel, haddock, cod, fillets, sardines, halibut and tuna. The commercial possibilities of canned fish as not yet been sufficiently explored, and have not yet been sufficiently invested for canning. There would, however, seem to be a promising field for extension in the canning of all kinds of fish.

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PART II

PROBLEMS OF THE FISHERY

CHAPTER III

The Social Problem

At the time this paper is being written, the word unemployment is appearing in bold face type on nearly every page of each newspaper in circulation in the United States. Men and women, once independent and useful members of the working classes, are unable to obtain employment with the customary facility and through the usual channels. At once these millions of idle breadwinners are becoming a political as well as an economic problem. On every side agitators imbued with a paternalistic conception of government are demanding federal assistance for a temporary situation that should have been provided for by the individual savings. And relief, in the form of discount corporations, unemployment funds, and national and state projects to provide work, is immediately forthcoming.

In a similar fashion Canada is responding to the clamours of her industrial workers. Yet, she has an unemployment problem more far-reaching than that produced by the mere eddy of one business cycle: she has a chronic unemployment problem among the shore fishermen. With a season usually less than six months long at the most, these men earn from fishing barely enough to

provide their families with the simple necessities of life. Having often a net income as low as $200.00 a season, and rarely exceeding $1000.00 for a good season[1]--except in the lobster industry --these fathers of large families have to practice the most rigid economies. Indeed these people are as near the "Margin of subsistance" as any people could go without sacrificing decency and self-respect. To give you an example of the living conditions of some of these people, I will include at this point a brief narrative of my observations at Little Dover, Nova Scotia, an exclusively fishing village of about 300 inhabitants.

The first thing I noticed on the drive from Canso was the virtual inaccessibility of this village located on the Strait of Canso. When the ice forms on the strait this place is practically shut off from the world. The nearest railroad branch is some forty miles away in Guysboro. The nearest motor highway ends about ten miles distant at Canso. And as for the road over which we drove there from Canso--it was beyond the descriptive powers of a Rex Beach to do it justice! As a matter of cold fact, I rarely caught sight of anything even mildly suggestive of a roadbed. In low gear most of the time, we followed what must have been at one time a cowpath through pastures, brooks, and

1. Range of estimates received from questionaire. As these fishermen keep few records, statistics could not be compiled.

over ledges of solid, tractless rock just wide enough to permit one vehicle to pass at one time.

After that drive I was prepared for the sight of the village: a little cluster of houses on the side of a most barren and forbidding coast. I wish the politicians who boast about "the American standard of living" could have seen them! Even a ward boss would have realized with me that something was rotten in this boasted civilization of ours when splendid citizens have to live in shacks such as I viewed there. Now reader, I am not an artist with words, but I will try to give you the picture of one of the average houses. Just suppose that you were gazing at the sort of ramshackle building that two unskilled men would build out of rough boards and shingles. Now imagine this small building of two rooms and no chimney, placed on a little of barren ground with rocky ledges creeping out on the surface everywhere, and ill-protected by rough wood fences, and you have the outside view of one of these homes.

Now lest you might feel that this unattractive exterior may cover a very cozy interior, let us stroll inside. Here we realize the harsh terms of their existance. Not even paper on the walls--nor even sheathing! Rather, in their accustomed

places we find old newspapers doing their best to keep the fierce winds from the little tots. We look in vain for modern equipment. In our typical cottage there is no gas, no electricity, no open plumbing, no steam heat, and, of course, no frigidaire. Indeed, practically all of these houses have no washing machines, vaccuum cleaners, electric irons, toasters, percolators, radios, or telephones.[1] Few magazines reach their doors, and no public library stretches out a hand to help their educational needs. As for automobiles, I saw an old Model T Ford arrive in the village, but I saw no garage in which it might be put.

Why go further? No bristling statistics could paint a picture of the hardships and real suffering as well as the almost complete absence of what we call the necessities of living from their homes: that fact has significance more eloquent than words or figures--it is the very symbol of poverty! And when one realizes that seven out of every eight fishermen in the Maritimes is a shore fisherman, the picture looks black indeed. Fortunately, however, those shore fishermen living in villages near Port Hood, Inverness, Glace Bay, and Sydney fare somewhat better, being close to a natural market for their product.[2] Still, their standard of living is not substantially higher.

1. There are six telephones there, and one radio.
2. See Lemaitre, La Vie Economique de la Nouvelle Ecosse, Page 60.

Then, realizing that the direct income from shore fishing is barely enough to "keep body and soul together", we will examine their other possible sources of income. Depending on the comparative isolation of his village, the fisherman may find winter employment to supplement his oceanic revenue. If his home is near one of the pulpwood forests, he may get a job with one of the American companies, de-nuding the Maritime forests. This work is hard, and the pay is only two to three dollars a day. Again, if his home is near the colleries of Cape Breton, he may journey under the sea on which his bark floats in mid-summer, and there earn the few dollars a day paid for unskilled, casual labor. If he should happen to be an able seaman, he might even sail on the winter trips to the West Indies and South America. Many do this for the small wages, though the married ones find it difficult to leave again families they have not seen during the warmer months. Then, too, there is the possibility that a garden, cultivated by his wife and children, will aid the slender means of the fisherman.

However, there is another source of income received by most of the fishermen, although the amount is not very great. By an agreement signed at Halifax in 1877, the government of the United

States paid to the Canadian Government the sum of $[illegible],500,000, as an adjustment for the violations of the provisions of a previous treaty.[1] After much bickering in the legislatures, the Dominion Government decided that this sum, in justice, a reparation to the Maritime fishermen for the loss of valuable fishing rights off the coast of Maine, should be used for the benefit of the Maritime fishermen. Thus parliament voted an annual disbursement of $150,00 (since raised to $160,000), an amount equivalent of the interest on the amount paid by the United States of America, to be distributed according to details arranged each year by an Order in Council. I will quote the essentials of the Order for 1931.[2]

"Under the authority of the Deep Sea Fisheries Act (it) is to be apportioned on the following basis: to owners of vessels entitled to receive bounty, one dollar per registered ton, payment to the owner of any one vessel not to exceed $80.00; to vessel fishermen entitled to receive bounty, $7.50 each; to owners of boats measuring not less than 12 feet keel, $1 per boat; to boat fishermen entitled to receive bounty, $6.65 each."

The total amount paid in 1929 was $159,[illegible]. Details of the distribution of bounties for the years 1926 to 1929 are as follows:

1. Treaty of Washington, 1871.
2. Canada Year Book 1931, page 516-517.

Province	No. of Recipients				Amount of Bounties			
	1926	1927	1928	1929	1926	1927	1928	1929
	No.	No.	No.	No.	$	$	$	$
P. E. I.	2066	1713	1309	1473	13,221	12,095	9,834	10,745
N. S.	10623	9564	9470	10036	83,007	82,107	79,078	83,459
N. B.	2079	2223	2240	2504	19,907	16,721	19,388	20,311
Que.	7554	6222	6214	6295	46,819	44,267	43,611	45,248

Obviously such small amounts are not going to aid the shore fishermen materially, especially when we take into consideration the fact that his operating expenses for equipment amount to $1500.00 yearly.[1] Now let us turn to the little community we have been describing.

This is a little colony of entrepreneurs. Now texts in economics extoll at length on the merits of the entrepreneur as a justification for profit-making. Here are entrepreneurs without profits, and having little chance to make any, for their product is not sold in a free market to the highest bidder. Except in the case of lobsters (which are collected by a government boat for direct shipment of Boston), these men land their catch at the town of Canso. Here there was once four fish companies to offer to the fishermen, competitive prices for their fish. Now the story is different. Of the three firms

1. From the testimony given before the Royal Commission, 1928.

maintaining plants there, the Maritime Fisheries Company and the Portland Packing Company, have closed down. This leaves the Leonard Fisheries Company in sole control. Naturally the prices they offer--for example, a cent a pound for haddock in the 1931 season--are reflective of this monopolistic condition.

Is it any wonder then that the fisherman does not receive even the average margin accruing to other producers of food stuffs. In this connection the following table from a report to the National Distributive Conference in 1926 may give a suitable background for comparison:

Percentage of Retail Price Received by Producer[1]

Food Product	Producer's Per Cent
Cattle.....	50 to 70
Farm Products.....	35 to 50
Oranges.....	40
Potatoes.....	35 to 40
Apples.....	20 to 25
Cantaloupe.....	20
FRESH FISH.....	20 to 25
AVERAGE.....	30 to 35

The foregoing table illustrates in a rather graphic way the undoubted fact that these men were not receiving a fair share of the value of their product. Lacking even a vestige

1. Report on Marketing and Distribution, No. 408, U. S. A.

of an organization until 1929, they were entirely at the mercy of the fish companies. The latter, having an adequate marketing organization, were able to control both the supply and the market prices. They offered the shore fishermen what they willed, and they usually took it even without protest. At times, this price was even below the cost of production as is shown by the following statement from the Royal Commission's report[1]:

"The shore fishermen have received as low as 60 cents a hundred pounds for cod....the average cost of production is three quarters of a cent a pound."

But the exploitation did not end there. The shore fishermen were often at the mercy of the merchant class as well. The men who did not deal with one of the fish companies usually operated under a standing agreement with a merchant in one of the larger towns. Under this arrangement the fisherman and his family were extended credit during the winter months in return for an option on the fish to be caught during the following season. On the surface this looks like an ideal plan, but actually the fisherman got the worst of the deal in every way. First, with his catch mortgaged in advance of each season, he could never hope to retrieve his lost independance, or hope to advance himself in the social scale. Then, too, being usually in debt

1. Steam-trawler Report Number 1, page 95.

to his buyer, he was practically forced to accept any price the merchant offered. Finally, and still worse, the fisherman paid the highest of retail prices for credit often so grudgingly extended, that the fisher folk could not always purchase what they needed.

As an illustration of the forgoing, I will refer to conditions observed while auditing the books of a large wholesale-retail grocer, who collected fish along the Guysboro coast. In these books I found some forty to fifty accounts with fishermen. The debits to these accounts (the charges against the fishermen for their purchases) were entered at the retail prices. The credits to these accounts were entered at the wholesale price, set by the proprietor. Is it any wonder then, that even at the end of a good season that there was usually a debit balance against the fishermen in most of these accounts? The poor "Toilers of the Sea" did not have a chance: the dice were loaded against them before they started. I wonder what the indignant framers of the Sherman Act would have to say about a condition such as this. Compared to such tactics the early records of the "Oil Trust" appears rather crude.

Even those fishermen who sold their catch to the big fish

companies did not escape paying the highest of retail prices. Let us return to Dover, the village we have used as an illustration before. Here, as we have said before, the fishermen are forced to sell most of the catch to one company at any price offered by the buyer. Now how about the retail prices he must pay? There is but one store operating in the village, run by a merchant from Canso. Thus the retail price paid by these fishermen is also non-competitive. We can think of no better way of emphazing this point, than by concluding this chapter with a table of comparative prices.[1]

Commodity	Quantity	ANTIGONISH	DOVER	% Increase
Butter	Per lb.	.24	.30	25
Bacon	Per lb.	.15	.35	133
Oatmeal	Per lb.	.04	.06	50
Sugar	Per lb.	.05	.07	40
Potatoes	Per bu.	.55	.65	18
Flour	Per bag	3.10	3.50	12
Eggs	Per doz.	.25	.40	60

1. Dover statistics compiled through the courtesy of Prinipal T. F. Lukeman of Dover School. Antigonish statistics compiled by MacDonald Brothers, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

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CHAPTER IV

The Economic Problem

As the previous chapter pointed out, the shore fishermen of the Maritimes have been a helpless class of willing toilers. No matter how manfully they struggled, they were kept down by the forces over which they had no control. Receiving the lowest return for their product, they had to pay the highest prices for the things they needed. As a result, their number began to dwindle some forty years ago, and has continued to diminish ever since.[1]

However, since 1912 an even more serious reduction in both the number and incomes of these men began to take place. About that time the larger fishing companies--until then principally interested in the marketing of the product--entered the production end of the industry in direct competition with the men from whom they purchased the fish. At once things began to happen. The coming of large amounts of fresh capital to any industry brings in its wake great changes--that is a truism of economic history. And the fishing industry was to be no exception. Capital brought to this industry the steam trawler, and with it a miniature "industrial revolution" that is still changing the economic and political conditions of the Maritime

1. See table near the end of this chapter.

Provinces.

In order to appreciate the significance of the coming of mass production methods to the fishing industry, we must examine the methods previously used by the independent fishermen. As the methods of the shore fishermen differ somewhat from the deep sea fishermen, it will be advisable to discuss each industry separately.

The shore fisheries are of a type that require the least outlay of capital. The fisherman usually employs a motor launch of about eight tons displacement. This is operated by himself and a relative or neighbour. While in calm weather they may venture far out into the Atlantic, they generally do not need to go more than seven or eight miles from shore. This they do at daybreak every day possible during the fishing season. There they drop hand lines into the water, and pull in the fish in much the same fashion as any ardent angler does in any part of the world.[1] As the fish are very plentiful in the littoral region, these men are able to return home with a full catch about the middle of the afternoon. This is the simplest method of fishing employed off the shores of the Maritime Provinces, but still it is important enough to employ over 5,750 launches, registered from Nova Scotia alone.

1. Gill nets and seines are also used.

The deep sea fishing industry is better organized. Here the craft usually employed is the familiar schooner, of which the "Bluenose" is quite typical. These are sailboats of from forty to one hundred tons displacement, carrying two masts and an auxiliary gasoline motor. They usually carry a crew of about twenty men. While there are schooners operating out of other ports, such as Halifax, the majority of these belong to the Lunenburg fleet of nearly one hundred and fifty bottoms. This well known fleet is recognized as a pioneer co-operative enterprise, since the crew of each ship share alike in the profits of each season.

Even at this late date some of these schooners use the hand line method we have described in connection with the shore fisheries. In this case the schooner carries 10 to 12 dories out to the fishing grounds. There the dores are launched. A single fisherman, equipped with two or three hand lines, rows his dory away from the vessel, and, baiting the hooks with herring, etc, begins the days fishing. Quite frequently, a good man will fill his dory three or four times a day.[1]

At the present time, however, most of the deep sea fishing, sailing from Lunenburg, is done by schooners using trawl lines.

1. Lemaitre, La Bie Economique de la Nouvelle Ecosse, Page 51.

These ships carry special dories called trawling dories which are much larger than the ones mentioned above, and which require two men to operate the lines. The trawl line consists essentially of very long lines (ground lines) to which are attached at intervals of one meter, about fifty secondary lines (gangins) about sixty centimeters long, and equipped with sharp hooks. This equipment is usually contained in a "tub of trawl" holding from four to six lines. As each line has about one hundred hooks, one can easily see that a tub of trawl will usually hold at least five hundred hooks. Since the schooner using trawl lines ordinarily carries six trawling dories, and each dory is equipped with five tubs of trawl, a little figuring will show that each schooner can place in the ocean 15,000 hooks at one time.

In spite of the difficulties encountered in anchoring, baiting, and marking the location of lines, this method is quite efficient. Yet, since the fishermen are required to man the dories, this method has increased the supply of fish without displacing the man in oil skins. Hence, unlike the steam-trawler to be next described, the above method has never stirred up agitation.

However, before discussing the controversy, it may be of assistance to introduce a description of the steam-trawler at this point. Here is an expert's description given before the Royal Commission.[1]

"Steam trawling or otter-trawling, is carried on by steam vessels of from 250 to 500 tons gross, which are similar in nature and equipment of their gear. The trawl is a large conical net or bag of about 150 feet in length, which is towed along the bottom of the ocean. The mouth of this huge bag is kept open laterally by boards or "doors" or short wooden walls, one on each side resting on the sea, and so rigged that they are pulled apart by the resistance of the water, thus opening the bag. The lower side of the bag is secured to a line reaching from "board to board". The upper side of the bag is secured to a somewhat shorter line, and, thus, as the bag is towed along, the top portion of its mouth extends considerably in advance of the lower portion. The boards are heavily shod and are reinforced with iron. At ordinary towing speed the kite-like action extends the net laterally to a width of over one hundred feet, and the flow of water into the net tends to keep it open vertically. In the forward third of the bag the mesh is largest; in the center third, smaller; and in the last, or third part, smaller still. The end of the net is open, but it is closed when fishing, with a draw-string."

The steamer usually takes a day to reach the fishing grounds. There it trawls for three or four days, and returns to port with its catch, averaging 150,000 pounds.[2] Such a large catch can be taken so rapidly because of the method of its operation. When the trawl is used, it is towed along the sea bottom slowly, about three or four miles an hour. As one fisherman expressed it, "it takes up everything in its track from a

1. See Commissioner's Report, Page 88.
2. Given by an agent of one of the companies operating trawlers.

scallop to a four thousand pound anchor." When each fishing period is finished, the trawl is raised above the deck by a winch, the draw-string is loosened, and the fish are dumped on the deck. There they are sorted, and the inedible fish thrown over-board. The rest are packed in ice in "pens" in the hold.

Now that we have illustrated the various methods used by the Maritime fishermen, we are ready to discuss the trawler controversy. First, let us summarize the histroy of the trawler in local operations. The question of the employment of trawlers was first raised in 1905 when the Halifax Board of Trade asked federal assistance to bring out trawlers from Scotland to be operated from Nova Scotia Ports. The request was promptly refused in no uncertain terms. I quote from the letter sent by the Minister of Fisheries:[1]

"Referring to the matter of the introduction of steam-trawling in Atlantic waters of Canada, I have an official report before me, and I do not see that any encouragement could be held out to steam-trawl firms to operate in our waters. You are no doubt aware that to that destructive method of fishing has been attributed the destruction of valuable fisheries off the shores of Great Britain, and prohibitory laws have been enforced in inshore areas. Outside the three mile limit trawling cannot be prevented, but I am not disposed to favor it in territorial waters, or grant assistance to firms adopting that method of fishing."

1. June 5, 1905

But the agitation over the use of trawlers continued unabated. When foreign owned trawlers began to fish too near the local coast, they drew an Order in Council prohibiting their use in the territorial waters of Canada. Again, in 1909, the Prime Minister of Newfoundland joined with the Canadian Minister of Fisheries in an attempt to get the English government to try to negotiate with the United States and France on international agreements which would eliminate the trawlers. This project was the subject for study by separate commissions from each country when the World War broke out, causing the study to be discontinued. The negotiations have not been resumed to date.

From this brief outline of Canadian attempts to regulate or prohibit the use of Steam-trawlers, it is obvious that the trawler has been the subject of almost continuous agitation since their introduction into Canadian waters in 1911. The increase in the number is shown by the follwoing table.[1]

Year	No. of Trawlers
1911.....	1
1912.....	2
1913.....	5
1915.....	4
1916.....	5
1918.....	8
1920.....	6
1927.....	10
1928.....	11

1. Royal Commission Report on Trawlers, Page 89.

Yet, in order to get a more complete background for the subject, let us give a resume of the trawler's record on the other side of the Atlantic.

In the United States, the Gloucester fishermen have from time to time raised their voices in vigorous protests. In Scotland, when the shore fishing industry was vanishing, leaving behind sadly depopulated villages, steam-trawling was the topic of many government investigations. There laws were passed as early as 1885 prohibiting the use of trawlers in territorial waters. Later they were debarred from certain areas, and forbidden to land fish taken from other areas. By 1906, when the situation had reached a crisis, the British Parliament passed an act called "The Prohibited Areas Extension Act" which forbid the landing of fish caught by trawling along the coast of Great Britain. In Denmark, Holland, and Germany as well, there have been frequent controversies over the use of Trawlers.

So much for the history of the question; now let us turn our attention to the claims of the controversialists.[1] First we will consider the objections to the use of the trawler. While many arguments have been put forth by the shore fishermen and their advocates at the hearings of the Royal Commission, and

1. In view of our failure to agree on this subject, I am including in Appendix B a statement by Dr. H. B. Coad, presenting the attitude of the shore fishermen.

many more reasons for prohibiting the trawler were introduced by the politicians and the press, the contentions of the anti-trawler group may be summarized quite readily. Those that are to be taken seriously will be included in the following classification.[1]

A. The effect on the conservation of the fisheries:
   (1) Trawlers destroy the spawn of Cod and Haddock.
   (2) They destroy the feeding grounds of the fish.
   (3) The taking of immature fish will cause depletion.

B. The effect on the fishermen now employed:
   (4) The trawlers are foreign owned and manned.
   (5) They destroy the gear of the fishermen.

C. The effect on the industry:
   (6) They market an inferior product.
   (7) They "glut" the market on the shore fishermen.

Proceeding immediately with an examination of the arguements relative to the conservation of the fisheries, we find that we can dispense with numbers (1) and (2) immediately. Scientific investigation has shown them to be without foundation. However, the third arguement in reference to the taking of immature fish is a serious charge born our by facts. Dr. W. W. Fulton, one time Superintendent of Scientific Investigations in Scotland, concluded after a study extended over a long period, that about thirty per cent of the catches of steam-trawlers were immature fish. Indeed, at a hearing of a British Royal Commission of this problem evidence

1. This classification is my own.

was introduced to show that in the first four months of that year, nearly 11,000,000 pounds of immature fish were landed at Grimbsy.[1]

Turning now to the second group of arguments directly bearing on the trawler's effect on the fishermen, we find this group of contentions less important. At the outset, we can throw out the contention that the trawlers are foreign owned and foreign manned. As Trawler Report No. 1 shows, six of the ten trawlers then operating in Canada, the crews of all were composed principally of British subjects. The second contention in reference to the destruction of the fishermen's gear is based on fact. In one year $5,000 damage was done to the gear of the Lunenburg fleet alone.[1] But since the policing of international waters is the problem ad rem in this issue, I consider this beyond the scope of my subject.

Now coming to the last group of objections raised in reference to the effect of the trawler on the industry as a whole, we will find some validly behind the claim that the trawler brings an inferior product. Let us look at the facts. First, the fish of the shore fishermen is fresher. It is landed daily, while the product of the trawler does not often reach port until five or six days after

1. Royal Commission on Fisheries (England), 1907.
2. Report of the Captains Association of Lunenburg, 1927.

it is caught. Again, the tremendous weight of the other fish in the huge trawl often causes the fish on the bottom of this huge net to become crushed and bruised.[1] In addition--as we pointed out above--small immature fish is often included. Such facts lead one to admit that there is a factual basis for the claim that the trawler does produce an inferior product.

When one turns to the examination of the last arguement listed on the preceding page, namely, the contention that the trawler is glutting the markets of the shore fishermen, and thereby ruining the shore fishermen, one cannot but recognize that here is the <u>real</u> objection. In fact, on closer scrutiny, the other and more unselfish objections seem to be but smoke screens to hide the very real fear of the shore fishermen--that the trawler will drive them out of their occupation, their livlihood.

Thus, when the trawler problem was brought to the attention of the Royal Commission on Fisheries, in 1928, a very careful analysis of this problem was made. After their investigation, the members of the commission split 4 to 1 on this problem, Messrs MacMillan, Bill, Mombourquette, and Robichaud concurring in the preparation of Steam-trawler Report No. 1, which condemned the use of the trawler,

1. Testimony to this effect was presented to the Royal Commission employees of trawlers.

while the chairman of the commission, Dr. A. K. MacLean presented a dissenting report, Steam-trawler Report No. 1.

Now in reference to the above allegation that the trawler is driving the shore fishermen from the industry, I will quote from Steam-trawler Report No. 1, giving the opinions of the majority of the commission on this subject. The following exerpt from page 95 of their report briefly tells the story:

"The final objection forms, in our opinion, the heart of the whole problem. It embraces over-production, the glutting of the market, low prices, a restricted market for the shore fishermen, and the consequent depopulating of the fishing villages. It is an objection to which all others, are in our opinion, secondary. Without reference to elaborate statistics of any kind, it is obvious that the shore fishermen of Nova Scotia are not paid enough for their products to give them the necessities of life. The phrase "glutting" of the market as used by fishermen means rather the control of the market. A glutted market should mean lower prices to the consumer. But the consumer's prices for fish do notchange materially, even when the product is abundant. According to the fishermen's statements, when there are large catches of fish, the companies operating the steam-trawlers do not buy from the shore fishermen, or they buy at their own price, as a rule far below a reasonable return. Then they make the surplus unsold fish into fillets, smoked or frozen, which are kept in a storage plant for disposal when the supply begins to decline and the demand increases. In other words, they are said to control the market and the output of the market."

On page 97 of their report they go even further. They state that:

"There is abundant proof of decline in boats, small boats, equipment, and population. There is ample evidence too, that young men are not entering the shore fishing industry in large numbers.

"This is doubtless because of its lack of promise of an adequate livlihood, rather than because of its lack of inducements as a calling; although hazardous, it should be an attractive pursuit which offers independence in labor, and which under more favorable conditions should yield a fairly large return on the capital and labor invested, compared with other industries. A remedy must therefore be promptly found, and the remedy must be prompt and drastic. In default of a remedy, it is not improbable that the fishing villages of the Maritimes may soon be even more seriously depopulated."

As an indication that there is a factual basis for the above statements, one has only to consult the following table:[1]

Counties	Years[2]						
	1890	1917	1919	1920	1922	1923	1927
Richmond	3052	1755	2173	1382	1838	1471	1374
Cape Breton	1415	1353	1132	751	885	811	825
Victoria	3034	1024	1137	1325	1367	1319	1028
Inverness	2480	1040	1340	1057	1397	900	800
Cumberland	206	274	196	162	222	230	312
Colchester	125	198	222	101	70	103	70
Pictou	146	404	305	380	363	371	340
Antigonish	516	243	243	331	362	410	492
Guysboro	2706	1949	1909	1673	1792	1621	1589
Halifax	3523	2156	2606	1732	1938	1734	1706
Hants	141	110	85	66	56	49	55
Lunenburg	3947	3049	3163	3161	2927	2559	2675
Queens	794	485	681	528	642	441	611
Shelburne	1972	2826	2758	2588	2187	1694	1329
Yarmouth	1995	1724	1560	1553	1380	1137	1076
Digby	1090	2004	2001	1777	1502	1566	1460
Annapolis	397	560	427	314	308	304	330
Kings	140	115	145	138	139	122	105

With the above table establishing the fact that a large number are leaving the industry, it will be worth our while to examine

1. The table is based on census data.
2. Except where imperative, 1929-1930 statistics have been avoided because they were found to be out of line with a five year moving average of the industry.

whether or not this is the result of the influence of the trawler. Obviously, if the competition of the steam-trawler is the significant factor, this will be shown by an analysis of the effect of its catch on the fisherman's home market. According to the data given before the Royal Commission, the domestic consumption of Maritime fish is 90,000,000 pounds anually. In the light of that fact the following table based on the data provided by the companies mentioned in the appendix is significant:

	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Traw. Landings	20,841,586	24,926,194	34,066,495	40,292,911
Pur. from S. F.	29,732,658	23,775,685	31,399,518	36,365,021

From this table it is apparent that the quantity of fish bought from the shore fishermen increased only 22% in the four years, wheras, the quantity obtained by the steam-trawlers during the same period showed an increase of 94%. Under such conditions the fears of the shore fishermen are not unfounded. Indeed the four members of the commission signing the Steam-trawler Report No. 1, go even further than my conclusion. From such data, and other data in preceeding parts of this chapter, they drew the conclusion that the trawlers now in operation could supply all the existing markets for fresh Maritime fish, and would do so in

the future.[1]

In view of this conclusion (with which I am not wholly in agreement) they did not hesitate to recommend the prohibition of the trawler in these words:[2]

"We believe that one of the remedies for the present situation is the total prohibition of steam-trawlers from operating from Canadian ports, landing their catch in Canadian ports, or obtaining coal or supplies in Canadian ports. And we recommend that such legislation be enacted as to make such prohibition effective on and after June 1, 1929."

However, the chairman of the commission could not concur in this finding, and so submitted a dissenting opinion published as Steam-trawler Report No. 2. In this document he agreed with his colleagues as to the seriousness of the problem, but stated that he did not consider the prohibition of the trawler to be the best solution to the problem. In addition, he pointed out that any future expansion of the fresh fish market would necessitate the trawler as a dependable source of supply.[3] Then he presented the arguement that such a total prohibition as that advocated by his associates would only operate as a handicap to Canada's fishing industry in its competition for foreign markets with the nationals of other countries whose governments do not

1. Royal Commission Report
2. Steam-Trawler Report No. 1, Page 98.
3. Steam-Trawler Report No. 2, Page 102.

restrict this method of fishing.

In conclusion, I feel that in his final contention expressed above, Dr. MacLean arrived at the crux of the question: the trawler question is international, and, as such, cannot be solved by the dictum of the Canadian government. Further, since the trawler is modern, in that it makes labor more efficient and less costly,[1] the trawler is here to stay. It is but the extension of the machine age to another industry. As was the case with the advent of labor-saving machinery to other industries, the period of transition brought hardships to the workers. Old skills had to be forgotten, and new skills had to be acquired. While we regret the depopulation of the fishing villages, I feel that the solution of this problem lies in another direction, which I will touch upon later.

1. The two hundred employees in 1927 caught more of the annual production than the 20,000 shore fishermen.

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PART III

THE PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER V

The Period of Organization

So far we have been dealing with the general background of conditions out of which has sprung the co-operative movement among the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces. Now we will proceed to discuss the factors which played a more direct part in precipitating the united action. Here we must begin with the story of a personality, at once the most striking and dynamic, with which I have ever come into contact--Dr. J. J. Tompkins, L. L. D., pastor of the fisherfolk at Canso.

Pyysically,"Dr. Jimmie", as his numerous friends and admirers call him, was not intended by nature to be impressive. He is very short, thin, and bony. His head and complexion carry out the impression of weakness; the former is very small and shaped like a bullet, while the latter is like a death mask. However, his movements give a clue to the tremendous mental energy of the man. They are quick and jerky. Bounding along the street with the stride of a six footer, the doctor grips the arm of his companion, the piercing grey eyes flash under the heavy white eyebrows, the trap-like mouth opens, and above the chin of an inquisitor, ideas pour out like missles from a Lewis gun. Such

is the man who spoke to ten men in his little sitting room on the evening of the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation, and 30,000 inshore fishermen learned to hope anew. But let us get the proper sequence for our story.

First of all we must consider the intellectual background of the movement. For two decades previous, the theory of co-operation as a solution for social evils was disseminated throughout the Maritimes. In every one of the six universities, professors of economics and sociology had been telling the story of the Rochdale pioneers, and the Danish co-operative societies year in and year out. While so doing, they could not help but stress the possibilities of co-operative enterprises in the local provinces. Then, too, the local press frequently contained laudatory columns on the great wheat pool out in the western provinces, and suggestions for local enterprises to be developed among the farming communities. Soon a chain of co-operative creameries spread through the provinces, to be followed by a number of co-operative stores, co-operative purchasing organizations for farm equipment and feeds. These were shortly followed by hundreds of local co-operative marketing pools, culminating in the establishment of central selling agencies and exchanges serving the entire Maritime Provinces in sheep, poultry, eggs, and the like.

A movement of such magnitude was bound to influence the fishermen. Although these men are for the most part poorly educated, and so did not come in direct contact with the best texts on the subject, they are very keen to learn new things. They learned of the successful application of the co-operative type of business or anization to the production and marketing problems of their fellow citizens in farming even while the latter's experiments were in an early stage of developement. At once the fishermen decided to try the new method. In 1905 they got a law passed to enable them to market their products co-operatively. As a result of this facilitating legislation, a few sporadic attempts were made to organize co-operatives among the fishermen.

The few that were formed functioned only a few months and died out almost as rapidly as they were organized. Obviously, the movement was premature. The would-be organizers knew too little about the specific ills of the fishermen, and still less about the remedy they were attempting to apply. So, of course, the movement passed in an almost complete oblivion.

But there was one place where this movement did not die out immediately, but took root and flourished in the following years. I am referring to Lunenburg, a fishing town in Nova Scotia, settled

by German immigrants about 100 years before the time of the American Civil War.[1] These people, however, did not enter into the shore fisheries. The deep sea fishing which they had known in Germany appealed to them exclusively. Having limited capital, they organized their fishing on a co-operative basis. Thus, shares in each vessel are owned by the captain and his crew. At the end of each trip the returns from the sale of the catch is divided and shared between them. Nevertheless, the captain receives, in addition to his share, a commission of 2½ on the total catch. Also, three men receive a fixed salary: the cook, and two men whose duty it is to arrange the catch in the hold.[2]

However, I could give no better tribute to this early co-operative interprise in fishing than is contained in the words of Ward Fisher, Chief Inspector of Fisheries, in his article entitled "Arcadie, the Mother of Fishermen" in the Halifax Chronicle of January 1, 1927. I quote the paragraph in reference to Lunenburg.

"The striking characteristic of the Lunenburg fishery is that the ownership of the vessels, and also the actual fishing operations, is largely co-operative, and many of the fishing captains and crews are part owners. This co-operative ownership and operation has made Lunenburg unique as a fishing center. The extraordinary success of the enterprise is without parallel in any country. The men are directly interested in the success of their own property and in the success of the fishing, with the result that the vessel

1. 1753
2. Lemaitre, La Vie Economique de la Nouvelle Ecosse, Page 48.

"is will cared for, and the business conducted with intelligent energy. Shares in vessels are greatly sought for by the fishermen. The returns are generous as can easily be seen by visiting the comfortable, and in some cases, beautiful homes of the fishermen, many of which are well, if not luxuriously furnished. Lunenburg is a striking example of what may be done by any sensible and industrious community."

That the above quoted language of the Chief Inspector is justified is shown by a few facts in reference to the Fleet. At the time I am writing this, the people of Lunenburg operate 92 schooners, costing on the average $22,000 each, in the salt fish trade, and three more engaged in the fresh fish industry. The larger deep sea fleet, of which the famous "Bluenose" is queen, brought in $2,000,000 worth of fish in its record catch of 1927. Thus, this one co-operative enterprise accounted for nearly 17% of the total value of all fish caught in the Maritimes for that year.

In order to give some indication of how this brings a very comfortable living to the crew, I will illustrate from the records of two of the Lunenburg schooners for that banner year. The Myotte was "high line" for that year with a catch of 5,450 quintals of fish.[1] This fish was sold for $8 per quintal, resulting in a return of $43,600 to a crew of 20 men. That means an average of $2,180 per man for a few months work. Again, take the case of the famous Bluenose which met with a serious accident in an early season storm. Even though she was forced into port and to lay up for many weeks for repairs, she garnered 4,000 quintals from the banks. In spite

1. Average price realised. A quintal is 112 pounds.

of the misadventure, each of her crew shares over $1,[illegible] for the season.

While we have seen the remarkable success of the co-operative type of enterprise in the deep sea fisheries exemplified by the Lunenburg fleet, and that the movement made little headway among the shore fishermen, nevertheless, for over a decade an intellectual movement has been paving the way for the co-operative movement amont the shore fishermen that led to the formation of the United Maritime Fishermen. I am referring now to the local interest in adult education beginning about 1920-21.

At that time Dr. Tompkins was the energetic vice-president of St. Francis Xavier University. Feeling rather keenly that the modern university should reach out a helpful leadership to the people, he turned his whole attention to adult education. As a result, a "People's School" was opened at the university for six weeks during the winter of 1921. There the fishermen as well as miners and farmers, studied history, literature and economics with their sons and daughters. So sucessful was this, that a second "People's School" was held there the following winter, to be followed with another session in the city of Sydney, during the Winter of 1923.

As a result of the above, Mr. Tompkins was among a gathering of 22 educators [illegible] in New York, to discuss the possibilities of adult education. This conference was held during the winter of 1924. Others present were Nicholas Murray Butler, Dr. Beard and Dr. Thorndyke of Teacher's College, Columbia University, Everett Dean Martin, the Director of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and others. In addition to other subjects, these men agreed to the necessity of a scientific study being undertaken to determine the educative possibilities of adults. They appointed Dr. Thorndyke to undertake this study, and the Carnegie Foundation agreed to finance the undertaking. For three years Professor Thorndyke tested adult groups all over the continent, and in 1927, published findings which conclusively proved that projects for adult education were psychologically sound.

In the mean time, Dr. Tompkins had been transferred to the little fishing village of Canso, an isolated part of Nova Scotia. Now, for most men, this would mark the beginning of the end--stagnation! To him, however, it was but a virgin field for educational opportunity. At once he brought books, pamphlets, and periodicals, and began a circulating library, often reading these to the men himself. Thus, one Sunday night at a meeting in his residence, he read to the men a pamphlet on the wheat pool written by J. A. Stevenson.

This fired their enthusiasm so that a few days later, July 1, Confederation Day, three of these men came to Dr. Tompkins, and asked him to meet a group of some forty men that had assembled in the local hall. There they deliberated until 11 P. M. And, as a result, they passed a resolution requesting that the Hon. William Duff, their representative at Ottawa, should come down and hear them.

It happened that a reporter of the Halifax Chronicle chanced to be in town, and attended the meeting. While there was a local reporter there to report all such gatherings, the staff man decided to send a full account of the meeting to Halifax. This made such an impression at the office that it brought the managing editor of the Chronicle down to Canso to interview Dr. Tompkins. After spending a week end with the former professor, Mr. Chafe went back with a story which covered the entire front page! Immediately, Representative Duff agreed to meet the fishermen, and arrived in Canso a few days later in company with the Honorable J. A. Walker, Minister of Natural Resources. A meeting was held at which the two, in the usual way of politicians, promised all sorts of relief. Unknown to them, the fishermen had engaged a public stenographer to take down the remarks. Then the fishermen hired a whole page of the Chronicle, bought up 5,000 copies and sent them around the Maritimes. This created such an agitation, that it resulted in the appointment of the Royal Commission on Fisheries, whose report I have referred to before.

However, one of the recommendations of this commission to which I have not referred to before, was its statement that the government should take steps to organize the fishermen in some type of a co-operative enterprise.[1] Nothing was done about this for nearly a year, then in September 1929, the dominion government asked Dr. M. M. Coady of the staff of St. Francis Xavier University to undertake the task. How this educator with the physique of a pugilish battled mountainous snow drifts and temperatures of 20-40 below zero to speak in every little fishing village along the coasts of three provinces--would be a story worthy of James Oliver Curwood! For our purposes it is sufficient to say that in nine months he organized 5,000 fishermen into 142 local unions having each a president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer.

At a convention held in Halifax in the last of June 1930, these local "federations" were represented by delegates on the basis of one delegate for each twenty members, or major fraction thereof. These two hundred men assembled there set up the United Maritime Fishermen, a federation of these 142 locals. This federation has grown to over 200 locals with a corresponding increase in membership.

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Fisheries, Page 81.

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CHAPTER VI

The United Maritime Fishermen

In the preceeding chapter of this study, we traced the history of the co-operative movement among the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces which culminated in the formation at Halifax in June 19.0, of the United Maritime Fishermen. We will devote this chapter to a description of the organization, and a general statement of the effects of its organization to date.

This organization is composed of a president, a vice president, and a permanent central secretary, or secretary-treasurer. A board of directors, limited by the constitution to twenty-two men, is chosen by a regional plan. For this purpose, the entire fishing constituency of eastern Canada is divided into twenty-two zones, on the basis of population. From each of these zones one director is selected by the delegates of the various locals assembled in annual convention. These directors hold the power in the organization. While an executive committee composed of the president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, and three other directors conduct the general business of the organization, a meeting of the full board of twenty-two directors is necessary for the selection of a new secretary-treasurer. The president and vice president, according to political practice are nominated at

the annual meeting of the delegates of the various locals, and elected by ballot. The present officers are:

President.....Alfred Hanlon, Canso, Nova Scotia
Vice President.....Bruce Burke, Drumhead, Nova Scotia
Sect.-treasurer.....Richard Hamer, Ph. D., Halifax, Nova Scotia[1]

At a recent meeting in Halifax, an interesting provision was inserted into the constitution in reference to the election of officers and directors. At this meeting an amendment to define eligibility was included. According to the interpretation placed upon the language of this amendment, only bona fide fishermen are elegible for election to all offices carrying voting power in the concern's affairs. In practice, this means that the president, the vice-president, and all the members of the board of directors must be chosen from the fishermen themselves. Thus, only the secretary-treasurer, as a paid official whose office involves no voting power, can be chosen from outside the ranks of the fishermen.

Now let us consider the purpose behind this new departure. Obviously, an organization of so many citizens of the Maritimes could wield a powerful influence in political circles. Such a possibility would not be overlooked by those living upon polit-

1. Resignation forced since this was written. See comment in concluding chapter.

ical prestige. Thus, almost at its inception, certain lawyers began to take part in the movement. At that recent meeting, they were beginning, by virtue of their political training and the shyness of the fishermen, to play a dominant part in the direction of affairs. The thinkers behind the movement saw this and appreciated the possible danger to the fishermen and their organization. Thus, the resolution referred to was drafted immediately, and passed.

In addition to the forgoing proviso for the elimination of possible external control, by restricting voting powers to the fishermen, the simple but adequate financial set up aids in removing this possibility as well. The sole source of revenue consists of the voluntary payment of an annual membership fee of $3.00. One third of this amount is retained by the local organization, while the remaining $2.00 is sent to the central secretary. There are about 30,000 fishermen in the Maritime Provinces. Thus, if a major portion of these join the organization--as it is almost certain they will--there can be little doubt that the question of finances will not gave much trouble in the future.

These funds are used, in the first place, to pay the secretary-treasurer who gets a salary of $3,000 per year, in addition to his

travelling and other legitimate expenses incurred in helping the locals with their business undertakings. Next, $500 of these funds goes to pay the nominal salary of the president. Also, each director is paid his travelling expenses, and given, in addition, a $5.00 per diem allowance for the regular and special meetings of the association, which take place at least four times a year.

In addition to the funds mentioned above, a special fund has been raised to combat the inroad of the trawlers. As yet this has only amounted to a few hundreds of dollars on deposit with the central secretary. Due to the depressed state of this industry at present, this fund has not been increased. Indeed, the pouplar agitation has abated somewhat.

Among the many objects outlined in the constitution of the United Maritime Fishermen, three are outstanding in their importance. According to this document[1], the organization was really called into being to enable the fishermen:

(a) "to educate themselves in things pertaining to this industry;"
(b) "to formulate policies for the proper guidance of the industry;"
(c) "to undertake co-operative activities both on the purchasing and consuming end."

1. Not yet in print. If printed in time, a copy will be found in Appendix A.

We can see from the above the relative emphasis placed upon its purposes: education, first; group action, second; commercial ventures, third. That this was the intention behind the erection of the enterprise is quite apparent from the words used by its organizer in a recent interview:[1]

> "It should be understood that this organization is a democratic one. In other words, it was not started off as a business organization. The intention is first to bring the fishermen together, and later, to set up a separate organization for the carrying on of business enterprise. It was the intention of the fishermen in drafting their constitution to induce local units to start co-operative activities in both production and consumption."

Thus, the U. M. F. is but the skeleton or framework for the super-co-operative organization that will some day be functioning for the fishermen of eastern Canada. Yet, the present organization is far-reaching in its influence. To show this we will include at this point a statement of the achievements of the local "federations".

In a previous paragraph, a statement was made concerning the intentions of the organizers in bringing into being the United Maritime Fishermen. One of these purposes was "to induce the local units to start co-operative activities in both production and consumption." Already many such ventures have been undertaken.

1. Dr. M. M. Coady, January 19, 1942.

First we will give general attention to the lobster industry. Even before the establishment of the Maritime organization, several groups of lobster fishermen had successfully canned their fish. By the end of June 1932, twenty-two co-operative lobster factories will be completed and in full operation.[1] Still others are being erected. Indeed, it is predicted locally, that within five years this entire industry will be in the hands of the fishermen.

Not only have the locals begun to play an important part in the canned lobster trade, but also they are beginning to be known in the live lobster industry as will. As a result of their agitation and influence with the federal government in Ottawa, they succeeded in getting established a lobster collection service for Nova Scotia last summer. This enabled their product to reach the profitable Boston market directly.

This has already brought about some excellent results. The fishermen on the eastern shore of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton have for the first time in their history, received the top prices that were for long years enjoyed by the large shipping companies. In fact, some other groups have even gone so far as to charter boats for their own usuage, and so have sold their catch of live

1. A full description of a typical lobster factory will be found in Appendix B.

lobsters in the Boston market. This means that the then prevailing price of twenty-five cents a pound reached the fishermen. This not only covered their operating costs with the usual margin in addition, but also gave them nearly five cents in addition. Indeed, this movement in the selling of live lobsters has been one of the greatest incentives to the men to stand by their organization.

But a more powerful incentive for the men to stand by their organization came into being while this chapter was in the hands of the typist. One of the locals introduced the first attempt of collective bargaining, and, when refused a satisfactory price, enforced its demands with a brief but effective cessation of all fishing operations in its locality. We are referring now to the strike at North Sydney, Nova Scotia.

During the early part of December the growing discontent of the North Sydney fishermen over prices came to a head. On the morning of December 3, new quotations were issued by the local buyers representing the Leonard Brothers and the Northern Fish Company. This schedule read as follows:

Haddock.....1½¢ per lb.
Hake.....1¢ per lb.
Cod.....½¢ per lb.

According to the fishermen these prices were the lowest in the

history of the fishery, and positively ruinous to the fishermen. Immediately a meeting of the local was called, and a strike was decided upon.

In the Halifax Herald of that date we find the following description of conditions at North Sydney:

"Two hundred North Sydney fishermen have gone out on strike until such time as better inducements to carry out the industry are effected. Thirty three fishing vessels were tied up at their wharves here all day, and, according to the fishermen, will remain tied up until higher prices are received for fresh fish. The fishermen were out 100 today."

This deadlock continued for about five days. Then the old rates, averaging ½¢ per pound for all varieties, were offered. These were accepted, and the strike was called off. Now the amount of difference may not seem very great to the reader-although it actually means $175 to the crew of the average schooner-, but the monetary gain is only the less significant feature of this strike. The real significance lies in the fact that this was indirectly the first test of the U. M. F., and that the organization came out of it with flying colors.

Such developments alone would be more than enough to justify the existance of an organization that is less than two years old! Yet, these are not the only achievements. There are interesting

developments taking place in other phases of the fishing industry, particularly in the salmon fisheries. Many groups of salmon producers are handling their own products. Some of the locals have already erected their own packing plants, while nearly all of them are doing their own shipping.

In addition, those locals whose activities are in the smelt and oyster industries, are now engaged in an investigation on the possibilities of marketing their products co-operatively. Naturally, co-operatives would first develop in the industries handling the higher priced fish as the profit margin is greater there. Yet, such activities are not extending into the industries dealing with less costly grades of fish. Thus many locals are beginning to handle their boneless cod, dried, and even pickled fish.

In the field of consumers co-operation the development is more general. Nearly all the local federations have some form of co-operative purchasing organizations. While the degree of co-operation varies in the different localities, all at least buy their gasoline, and provisions in a co-operative way. Many locals even own their own warehouses and wharves. As one can see from the above, there is no limit to the possibilities of the development of this end of the movement.

The ultimate goal toward which the whole movement is tending is, of course, the erection of a Maritime central selling and purchasing agency. The thinkers behind the movement, however, are biding their time. They are allowing the local groups to get a strong hold both in the production and consuming end of the business. They argue that "when the people shall have worked together and learned to do business as a local group, they will be better able to carry out with success, the larger venture involved in the Maritime central selling and buying agency."

"The great difficulty in the way of perfecting this organization is, of course, the lack of economic and business background in the people who formed the organization."[1] The inadequacy of their education and the system through which they and their forefathers have worked during all time past, conspier to make it difficult for them to engage in this big undertaking. However, the tremendous "licking" they have taken during the last twenty five years has made them ready for any project. No difficulty or apparent failure is dufficient to dampen their enthusiasm, and while they have experienced set-backs and disappointments, as would naturally be expected in such an organization, they stand firm and their spirit is growing stronger.

1. Dr. M. M. Coady, February, 1932.

PART IV

A SURVEY

CHAPTER VII

The Challenge and the Way out

Now that the information resulting from a four-year residence in the heart of the Maritime fishing industry has been assembled and presented in this study, we are ready to survey the picture as a whole. While the various problems encountered were dealt with in the chapters directly bearing upon them, a few of the problems were so all-embracing, and so interwoven with the subject matter of other chapters, that they call for a review at this point.

The first of these over-lapping problems is the depopulation of the fishing villages resulting from the introduction of the steam trawler. In Chapter IV we concluded that the trawler was here to stay, and a recent judicial decision has served to strengthen the earlier conviction.[1] In the same chapter we pointed out that many men were leaving the industry to seek their fortune elsewhere, and that many more would have to leave the boats as the number of trawlers increased. We showed there that this was a natural development in accordance with economic laws, and, as such, inevitable.

However, this mere presentation of findings in accordance

1. On January 29, 1938, the Supreme Court of Canada declared An Order-In-Council providing for a 3% tax on trawler-caught fish to be ultra vires.

with classical economic theory is not enough. We cannot stop here. This problem involves the only source of income for thousands of families. Thus, we must face the challenge of the anti-trawler agitators (among whom are several sedate members of this faculty), which is, "What about the fishermen?" Their proponents remind us that these men are unschooled in other crafts with which to make a living. They add, with telling emphasis, that the fishermen have been on the sea ever since boyhood, leaving them unfit for any other occupation. Indeed, even now fourteen year old boys rarely finish the seventh grade before joining their fathers in the shore fisheries.

These claims are all true. This displacement does involve many who are unfit, untrained, and incapable of exercising any other craft. This is regretable, but maudlin sympathy will not solve the problem, nor prevent the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Yet, this depopulation of the fishing villages should not be blamed entirely on the trawler. As a cursory glance at the table on page 59 will show, there was a tremendous decline from 1890 to 1917, a period during which the trawler had scarcely gained a foothold in the industry. Undoubtedly a potent factor has been the almost complete isolation of these communities from the rest of the world. As we have indicated in Chapter IV, these

villages are usually located far from the highways and the railroads. Is it any wonder then that the more enterprising in such communities should venture out into the world to see that the future holds in store. The hundred thousand Nova Scotians around Greater Boston alone illustrate the factual basis of this contention. Then, too, these able seamen come into contact with their more prosperous brethren from foreign countries daily, and so are led to seek a better opportunity in other lands. Thus, we are led to believe that t is emigration from the fishing villages has been in part just an off-shoot of the almost universal exodus of poor people into more prosperous countries.

Yet, even if we could explain away the movement down to the present day as the result of this and other factors, we would not have squarely met the challenge of the anti-trawler group. Their question becomes the more serious when we examine the future effects. If the trawlers increase as we have concluded they will, employment will be taken away from men now employed. This is the real problem which we must face at once. In so doing we offer remedial measures that will minimize the hardships of the fishermen during the period of transition, and make the adjustment less difficult and abrupt. We suggest that a plan for the rehabilitation of these fishermen should be developed along the lines we will now suggest.

As the first step in such a plan the Federal government and the governments of the Maritime Provinces should join in the establishment of a system of pensions for all fishermen of 65 years of age and above who have been to sea at least twenty years. We feel that this amount should be set at $300 annually, and shared equally between the Dominion government and the government of the province in which the fisherman makes his home. In view of the low standard of living in such communities, this amount would be adequate to support the fishermen with reasonable comfort. As these men have little hope of saving money for their old age, such a provision is only the human thing to do. These men are too old to learn a new craft, so, unless otherwise provided for, they are likely to become public charges in any case. Where family pride prevents this, it means that these dependents will so tax the slender income that the next generation will be condemned to a perhaps otherwise escapable poverty.

As the second step in such a plan, we recommend that a Dominion-wide survey of employment opportunities should be undertaken at once. For this purpose the present census staff could be utilized without greatly adding to its annual expenses. Such

an investigation would reveal the possibilities of re-employing these men when they would be ready for other employment.

Logically, then, the third step in such a plan would be the inauguration of trade schools for the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces to prepare them for other phases of the fishing industry, as well as other industries. This need not be an expensive or elaborate project. No buildings will be necessary, nor need a permanent staff of civil service employees be brought together. The various engineering and other faculties of the six universities in the Maritime Provinces can easily supply the staff, while the classrooms of the local public schools would be quite satisfactory. The only essentials are to hold the classes at times and places convenient for the fishermen. To obviate such possible difficulties as may arrise, we suggest that five schools would be needed because of the difficulty of winter transportation.

We would suggest that these should be located as follows: Cape Breton, one; Nova Scotia, one: New Brunswick, two; Prince Edward Island, one. The classes would have to be held, of course, in the off seasons, As these seasons vary in the different localities, the terms would have to be arranged accordingl .

The fourth step in a program for the rehabilitation of the

fishermen would provide a means of placing these men in the new jobs for which they have been trained. This would call for the erection of provincial centers of employment information such as the public placement bureaus opened by the federal government in nearly all the American cities during the World War. This is the most vital feature of the plan. Without a means for the dissemination of employment information, any project for the assistance of the local fishermen would be ineffective, political rather than practical.

Such a program as we have outlined above should not be prohibitively costly-unless the inexpensive features should be removed by the politicians. Such a project could be made to "eat up" a million dollars a year, if desired. However, after discussing this plan with officials and fishermen, we found that estimates of probable cost averaged around $250,000. Of this sum, it was stated that the pension feature would amount to somewhere around $100,00 after the first few years, during which the claims would be rather more on account of the voluntary retirement under this provision of practically all the elderly men at one time. It was felt that this provision would not be needed after fifteen years. The $150,00 balance of the estimated cost would be needed to finance the trade schools. For an operating term averaging ten weeks per school, it was felt that this sum would suffice.

From the above division of the estimated operating costs, you will notice that no provision was made for the charge for installation and maintainance of the placement bureaus. The omission was intentional. While the writer is of the school of economic students that challenges rather than advocates the extension of government operation into industry, we feel rather strongly the duty of the government to provide public sources of employment information at all times for the benefit of all citizens. We feel that this is one of the proper functions of any government--so patently needed during this time of almost universal depression--therefore, we do not include any allowance for this cost in our plan.

Such a plan would not completely arrest the depopulation of the fishing villages--for we have shown that this emigration is due in part to other forces external to the fishing industry--but it will mitigate the suffering caused by the "industrial revolution" now beginning in the fishing industry. It will take the spectre of poverty out of these villages, and equip the more adaptable citizens for useful lives in other communities. It might not even keep them in the Maritime Provinces--for the industrial prominance of this section has been slowly waning since the Confederation--but it would enable these splendid people to earn a living within the boundaries of the Dominion.

If such a plan could have the latter effect alone, it would be gloriously worth while. Indeed, it seems to the unbiased observer that this is the desideratum of all Canadian projects--for Canada needs her citizens, and they are better off within her boundaries.

The second of these overlapping problems relates to the state of the industry as a whole. As the observant student travels about the fishing communities, and reads the reports and trade journals of the industry, one striking fact appears before his eyes again and again; the Maritime fisheries are three generations behind this era of mass production and distribution. While invention and scientific research have revolutionized the production technique of other industries in the direction of lowered costs for improved products, these fishermen still use the fishing methods of our grandfathers. While integration was taking place in industry after industry, co-ordination was lacking in the fishing industry. Long after market analysis was the rule in other fields of commercial enterprise, ignorance of market conditions was the characteristic of this industry. Even when demand creation in the forms of striking advertisements and scientific salesmanship had become the customary practices in other fields, they were extremely rare in the fishing industry. Thus this field of human endeavour was facing the need of modernization at the advent of the trawler.

To reveal this more concisely and more completely than we

have done in any one place, let us look at the lack of co-ordination in different parts of the industry. For our first example we may well turn to the cod and halibut industry off the coast of Guysboro county, Nova Scotia. Here some hundreds of fishermen in the different localities operate small motor launches, landing their catches at the various points along the coast. These men generally sell their fish to the sort of marketing intermediary that is called a "sub-jobber" in the tobacco trade, and an "express jobber" in the fruit and produce markets. This truck owner buys the catch from the fisherman and resells it, in the quantities demanded, to the various retailers of the nearby communities. Then the latter prepares the fish for the retail trade. Sometimes, however, as pointed out in Chapter IV, the more enterprising retailer gets the fish directly from the fishermen. Nevertheless, a very large quantity of the fish along this coast is handled by this truck-owning intermediary.

Now, as any student of marketing would suggest, the presence of two middlemen in a channel of distribution usually less than forty miles long could have but one meaning: a large spread between wharf and retail prices. Becoming somewhat curious, we asked a few questions about prices during the past summer. We were told that of the local retail price of cod last July, 7 to 8

cents went to the truck-jobber, and 1 cent to the fisherman. In other words, a fish worth one cent a pound on the wharf became twelve times as valuable after an hours truck ride. This sounds quite incredible, but the facts are established beyond a doubt.

Obviously, society is paying too high a price for the services of this intermediary between the retailer and the fisherman. It would seem that a more direct channel would at least lower the cost to the consumer, whether it gave the fisherman a better return or not. However, in cases where the retailer buys his fish directly from the fisherman, the price to the consumer remains the same. The margin of profit otherwise received by the truck-jobber is taken by the retailer. Contrary to the glib phraseology of the politician ranting about the elimination of superfluous middlemen, only the retailer benefits by his direct purchase. Of course this is due in part to the little real competition between the merchants in the small Maritime towns, but this price spread is also due to a lack of a co-ordinated marketing structure here.

As this is being written a copy of the Halifax Herald is open on the desk. The top of the two columns near the lift side of the page reads, "PROBE OF SPREAD IN FISH PRICE IS URGED." This caption in bold face type heads the report of an interview with President A. J. Hanlon of the United Maritime Fishermen.

As a proof that the above mentioned example of the spread between wharf and retail prices in Guysboro county is not a far-fetched example, we will quote a striking paragraph from the interview with Mr. Henlon:[1]

"To my mind the first problem which must be solved before the fishing industry can be placed on a business-like basis is the equalization of the price spread. I do not think the public has had sufficient information on this matter to enable them to appreciate the injustice of the position in which the fishermen are placed. At the present time cod is selling in Halifax at 22¢ a pound and the fishermen, who take all the chances and run all the risks, are getting 1¢ per pound for this product delivered at the wharves."

While I quoted the above paragraph to show that the example treated before was not an exaggerated one, I feel that the new president of the U. M. F. must have chosen his illustration for that very purpose. However, his figures may be explained by the suggestion that the 22¢ figure refers to fillets. As only one third by weight of the fish landed at the wharves remains after the filleting process is undergone, the price spread is not as significant as the figures he gives seem to indicate. Still the price spread is larger than any comparable industry.

A more severe example of the back-wardness of the industry might be cited in connection with the above mentioned fillets. These fillets, a very palatable arrangement of the food part of

1. January 28, 1932

fish, are a comparatively new development in the industry. As yet only a small percentage of the fish landed at the wharves is cut into these snow-white strips and attractively packed in tins, or individual wrappings in a paper made from a compound similar to cellophane. While such treatment has expanded the fillet business of the Boston Sea Food Company, from 70,000 pounds to millions of pounds annually in five years, the possibilities of the fillet busness are as yet untouched here. The development of this phase of the industry alone would not only widen the market for fish, but also expand the production of by-products at the same time.

Still further, the industry is badly in need of the assistance of that form of advertisements that are known by the technical term "institutional". This refers to the advertisements that are not aimed at the building up of consumer preferances for brands and the like, although the volume of fish advertisements is quite small of all types, but intended to build up a demand for the products of the industry as a whole. With hundreds of little competitors scattered all over Canada, we can understand why the institutional advertising has failed to emerge as yet. Nevertheless, therin lies the profit possibilities of all.

This institutional advertising is more vital to this industry than to any other we could mention. Unfortunately for the fishing trade, the products of their toil, with few exceptions, have not been looked upon universally as either staple foods or delicacies. Partly as a result of the influence of the beef-loving barons of old England, and partly as a result of the influence of the Catholic Church, fish came to be regarded as a penitential dish. Thus the demand was concentrated on Fridays and days of abstinence. While this may have somewhat extended the market for fish, still the association of fish with self-denial, punishment, and mortification of the body could not have served as a stimulus to the industry as a whole.

Thus we feel that there is a great need of a strong program of institutional advertising to eliminate the penitential reaction to fish, and, at the same time, to make the potential consumer aware of the more modern forms of attractively packaged fish now coming on the Canadian markets.

In view of the forgoing comments about the industry in general, we feel that we are as yet on the verge of a second "industrial revolution", but this time within the fishing industry alone.

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CHAPTER VIII

Addenda

Just as this manuscript was taking its final form, news came to me to the effect that the secretary-treasurer of the United Maritime Fishermen was slated for removal. Although no substantiation of this rumor could be obtained from the other officials even as late as their return from the annual meeting in January, the rumor began to circulate. After several days of fruitless interviews, I gradually obtained the story.

In addition to the various duties of his office as listed in the chapter on the United Maritime Fishermen, Dr. Hamer, a former professor of astronomical physics at American and Canadian universities, entered into some private ventures with the locals. These business deals on his own initiative led to dissatisfaction among many fishermen. Differences over money, alleged tardiness of payment, and other things caused some of these men to become antagonized against him. Thus, even before the annual meeting, a powerful movement was on foot to oust him from the secretary-treasurership.

At the annual meeting in Halifax, Dr. Hamer was called to account. Shortly before this meeting, auditors had been put to work on his books. At this meeting he is said to have presented

figures which did not agree with those of the auditors. This led to many sharp questions which he either could not or would not answer. After this had been going on for a short time his resignation was requested. He refused to submit one. He was then given five minutes in which to submit his resignation. He still refused. Thus, by a unanimous vote of the delegates present, he was removed from office, and requested to submit a statement of the amount due him, and to turn over all records in his possession to Dr. M. M. Coady, acting secretary. On the return of the president from Ottawa, Mr. Bruce MacInerney of Loggieville, New Brunswick was elected secretary-treasurer.

Yet even as I write this--and several weeks have elapsed since his removal--he has written a letter to one of the other officers, asking for work to be done, and signing himself as if still occupying the position from which he has been removed. Is it any wonder then, that he still clings to the records of the organization in spite of the many requests for them made by other officers? Probably legal action will be required--or at least threatened--before these papers will be turned over to his successor. In the light of the above facts the reader can understand my failure to get a copy of the U. M. F. constitution from him.[1]

1. His reply will be found in Appendix B.

APPENDIX A

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Map # 1.

The Fishing Banks

MAP
OF

ATLANTIC COAST OF CANADA

SHOWING

PRINCIPAL FISHING BANKS

SCALE
0 25 50 75 100
Statute miles.

MARINE & FISHERIES DEPT.
FISHERIES BRANCH
-1928-

QUEBEC
NEW BRUNSWICK
NOVA SCOTIA
NEWFOUNDLAND
UNITED STATES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MT. JOLI.
NATASHKWAN BANKS.
ANTICOSTI I.
CHALEUR BAY.
SHIPPIGAN.
MIRAMICHI BAY.
ORPHAN BANK
BRADELLE BANK
MAGDALEN ISLANDS
C. RAY.
ST. PAUL IS.
BURGEO BANK
C. RACE
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
NORTHUMBERLAND STRAIT.
MILNE BANK
NORTH SYDNEY
CURDO BANK
LOUISBURG
MISAINE BANK
1820
CANSO
CANSO BANK
425
ST. JOHN.
BAY OF FUNDY.
GRAND MANAN BANK
HALIFAX.
LUNENBURG.
BANQUEREAU
3000
PORTLAND
YARMOUTH
LOCKEPORT
JEFFREY BANK
PLATT BANK
ROSEWAY BANK
175
SAMBRO BANK
70
EMERALD BANK
SABLE ISLAND BANK
6320
LE HAVE BANK
790
BOSTON
BROWNS BANK
1375
GEORGES BANK
8498
BANK ST. PIERRE
4800
GREEN BANKS
1450
GREAT BANK
(Grand Bank)
OF
NEWFOUNDLAND
36000

NOTE: Figures on banks indicate areas in square geographical miles.

TABLE OF DISTANCES.
From principal fishing ports to principal fishing banks.

PORTS	BANKS			
	GREAT	SABLE IS.	BANQUEREAU	GEORGES
NORTH SYDNEY	440	160	140	466
CANSO	465	88	113	360
HALIFAX	588	159	225	256
LUNENBURG	607	177	244	231
LOCKEPORT	653	213	280	165
YARMOUTH	727	284	355	147
DIGBY	812	370	440	220
PORTLAND	884	438	508	180
BOSTON	928	470	555	172

MAP.....72

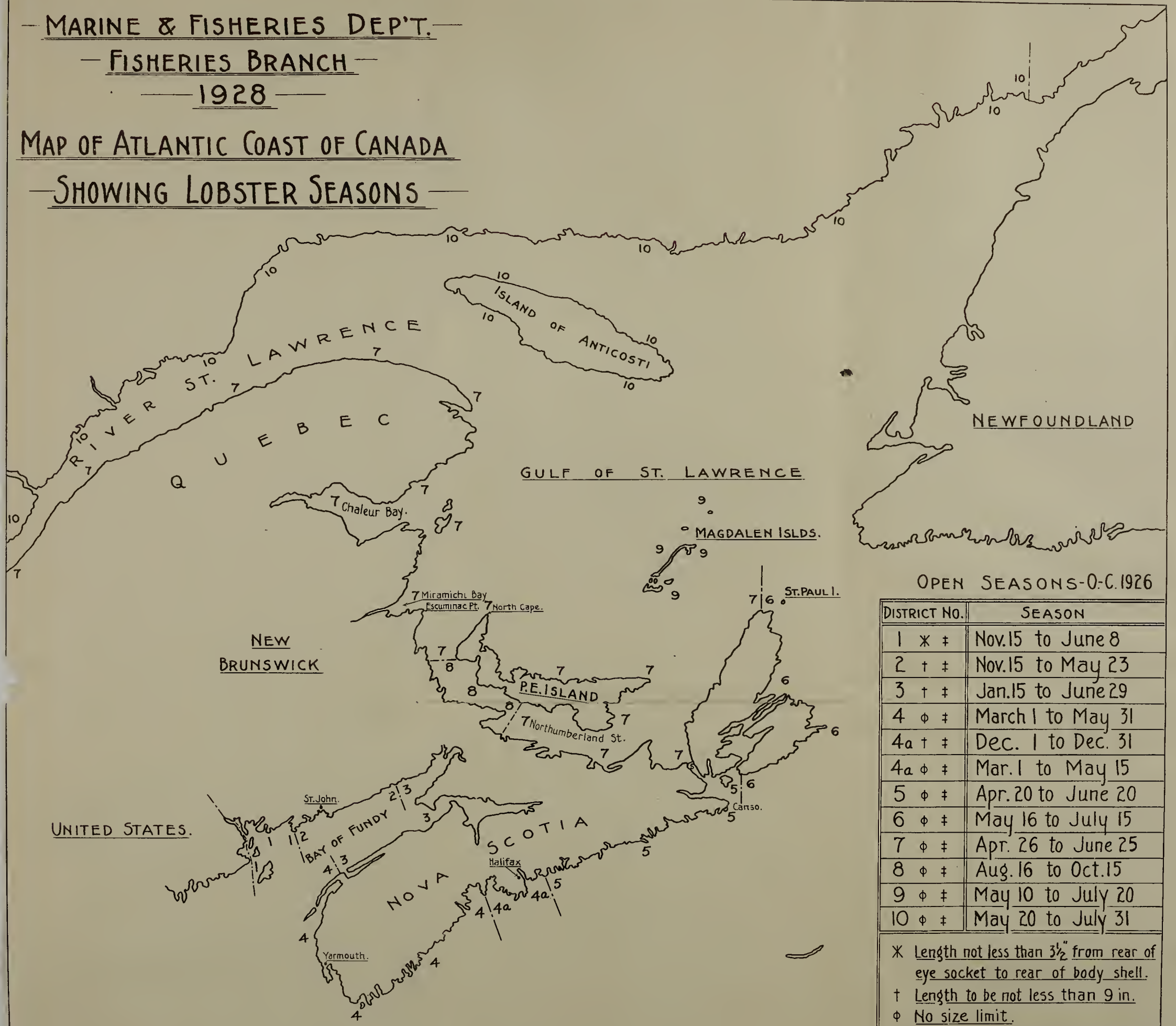
MARINE & FISHERIES DEP'T.

FISHERIES BRANCH

1928

MAP OF ATLANTIC COAST OF CANADA

SHOWING LOBSTER SEASONS



OPEN SEASONS-O.C. 1926

DISTRICT NO.	SEASON
1 ✳ ‡	Nov. 15 to June 8
2 † ‡	Nov. 15 to May 23
3 † ‡	Jan. 15 to June 29
4 ϕ ‡	March 1 to May 31
4a † ‡	Dec. 1 to Dec. 31
4a ϕ ‡	Mar. 1 to May 15
5 ϕ ‡	Apr. 20 to June 20
6 ϕ ‡	May 16 to July 15
7 ϕ ‡	Apr. 26 to June 25
8 ϕ ‡	Aug. 16 to Oct. 15
9 ϕ ‡	May 10 to July 20
10 ϕ ‡	May 20 to July 31

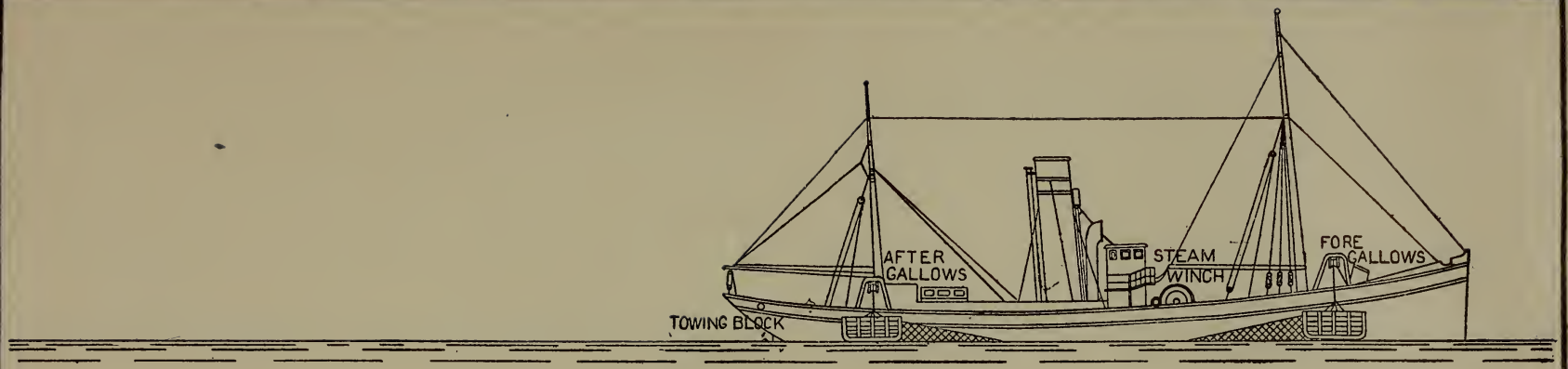
✳ Length not less than 3½" from rear of eye socket to rear of body shell.

† Length to be not less than 9 in.

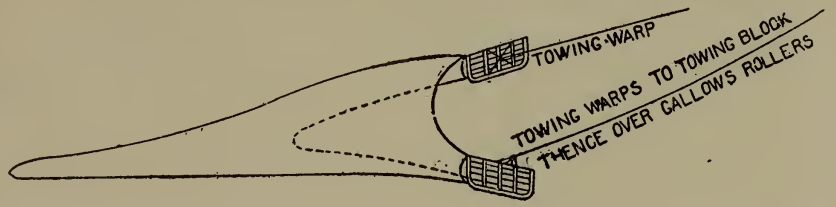
ϕ No size limit.

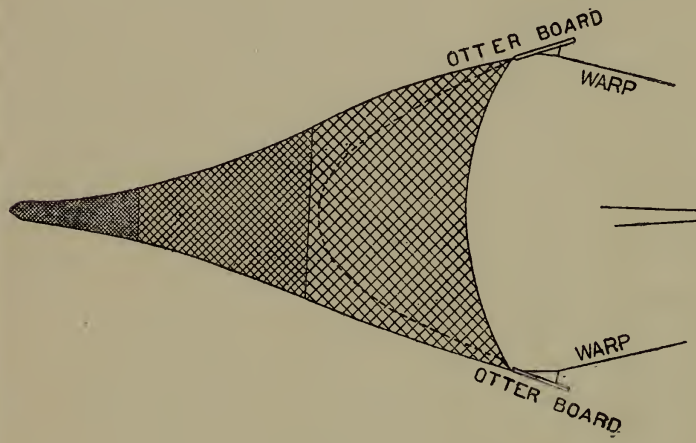
‡ Possession in close season without lawful excuse prohibited.

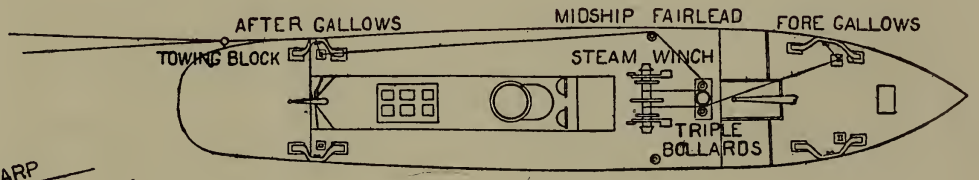
Diagram....41



ELEVATION







DECK PLAN

DIAGRAM OF STEAM TRAWLER

SHOWING FISHING GEAR

This map represents the extent of the U.M.F. in the Maritime Provinces.
Note: Dots indicate local centers.

APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTS AND LISTS

NAMES OF BIG CORPORATIONS

1. Boston Sea Food Company (Postum Company) Mr. May, President
2. Gordon-New Mr. Carroll, President
3. Atlantic Coast Fisheries, N. Y. Groton, near New London.

NOVA SCOTIA

1. Atlantic Coast Fisheries--owner of Maritime Fish Co. Didgby, N. S.
2. Boston Sea Food Co.--owner of Maritime Fish Co. Halifax, N. S., and Mitchell and MacNeil of Halifax
3. Leonard Brothers of North Sydney and North Fish Company
4. Leonard Fisheries at Port Hawksbury, owned by Mr. Byrne of Montreal.

INDEPENDENT COMPANIES
(Pure Canadian bred)

1. Smith at Lunenburg (fresh fish)
2. Seven Seas Fisheries at Liverpool, Nova Scotia.
3. Ralph and Winthrop Bell at Lockport, Nova Scotia.

LOBSTER INDUSTRY

American

1. Burnham and Morrill
2. Portland Packing Company

Maritimes

1. Logies--Principally in New Brunswick (Especially salmon and lobsters)
2. O'Leary and Lee, Richibucto, New Hampshire
3. Fred Magee, Port Elgin, New Brunswick
4. Matheson and Scott, Queensport, N. B. (Lobster)
5. Mitchell and MacNeil of Halifax, Nova Scotia

SMELT AND HERRING FILES

1. Saltsman and McCormick, St. John, New Brunswick, (Kings of salt fish trade)

2. O'Connor Brothers, Black's Harbour (Largest Sardine dealers in world)

THE TRAWLER QUESTION[1]

Prior to 1912 the fish business of the Maritime Provinces was carried on by boats and vessels operated by shore fishermen. The large fish firms after 1912 began to introduce the steam trawler. At one time as many as 14 operated out of the Maritime ports. The number is now reduced to seven or eight. It was the claim of the fishermen before the Royal Commission which investigated the fish industry in 1927 that the steam trawler was the principal cause of the ills of the inshore fishermen. The claim was that the markets were glutted by the big fish firms which used the steam trawler as a means of catching fish. This argument had such weight with the Royal Commission that four out of five of the Commissioners recommended the complete abolition of the trawler. Their claim was that either the shore fishermen or the trawler had to go, and in the interests of the large number of inshore fishermen, they recommended the abolition of the latter.

The chairman of the Commission, Judge MacLean, dissented from this opinion of the Commissioners and filed a minority report in which he recommended the curtailment of the trawler, and insisted that it should not be entirely abolished. In 1929 the Canadian parliament passed an Act empowering the Minister of Fisheries to exact a licence from all vessels operating in the fish trade.

1. Dictated by Dr. M. M. Coady

Consequently in the fall of 1929 an Order-In-Council was issued placing a tax of ½ a cent a pound on trawl-caught fish. This tax applied only to certain kinds of fish and fish of certain sizes. This was considered a very drastic measure and the big fish corporations fought it in the courts. The Superior Court of Canada finally brought down, in 1931, the decision that the Order-In-Council was ultra vires, and exempted the fish corporations from the payment of the tax. The inshore fishermen have continued their fight against the trawler, but this question is not in the focus of attention for the past while on account of the general depression of the fish business.

In this fight the contention of the trawler operators and their friends is that the steam trawler is a modern machine for the production of fish, compared with which the vessel and the boat is antiquated. Their point is that modern progress should not be blocked even for such a laudible purpose as the salvation of tens of thousands of inshore fishermen who depend upon the boat and vessel as a means of livelihood. The strong point in their argument is that the vessel and boat is not able to fish on account of weather conditions at many seasons of the year, and as a consequence the continuity of supply which enables the modern business to carry on is lacking. Their claim is that the markets cannot be held except by a regular supply, which the

trawler insures.

This controversy has been waged in the public press of Canada and a good statement of both sides appeared in MacLean's Magazine in the winter of 1950.

The shore fishermen and their friends claim that, other things being equal, the human factor should play an important roll. In other words the tens of thousands of inshore fishermen should not be thrown outof their industry by the steam trawler if the boat and the vessel is still adequate for the production and supply of fish to meet the demands of the trade. In order to make a proper evaluation of t is question let us look into the economics behind it. The steam trawler operating out of Boston can catch three to four million per year. The same trawler operating out of Nova Scotian ports can catch about five million a year. A lunenburg vessel fitted up with all modern equipment, including an auxiliary diesel engine can catch two and one-half to three million pounds a year. Some real good vessels, in a lucky year can do as high as four millions or more per year. Consequently two Lunenburg vessels are capable of as much production as one trawler. In all probability the physical capacity of two vessels to catch fish is superior to that of a single trawler. This type of vessel cost about $150,000. Therefore a

vessel equipment costing about $70,000 can catch as much or more fish as a trawler equipment of $150,000. This would indicate that as far as the economics of the question goes, the case is in favor of the vessel. The same thing is true of the large boat. The question might naturally be asked then, why not let the economics of the situation settle the question? Something else comes in here. These trawlers, in the main, have not been Canadian built. They were cheap trawlers brought over from the old country in post-war days and drafted into the service of the Canadian fish firms. The cintention of the fishermen is that this is unfair competition.

With regard to the question of continuity of supply, it may be noted that in the winter of 1930 the Lunenburg vessels were given a chance to engage in the fresh fish business for the firms of Halifax. It only took a few months to glut the market and they demonstrated once and for all that they were able to produce the fish if there were a demand for it. Then again, the modern facilities of cold storage and the new brine freezing process seem to settle the question of continuity. It is true that there are certain times when vessels cannot fish, but when all is said and done, the consumer does not get yesterday's fish. With present facilities for processing and storage of fish, it is fresh for weeks and months after it is caught.

There is another phase of t is controversy which favors the fishermen. There can be no doubt that the trawler caught fish is not equal in quality to that caught by vessels. The live, smart fish take the hook, but the trawl net brings in everything. Then the crushing and mussing of fish on the trawl is not conducive to good quality. The enormous destruction of immature fish is sufficient to negative the contention that the trawl is a modern machine in the best sense of that term. The fishermen realize that the trawler is a great club which the large fish corporations can hold over their heads in the determining of prices to be paid for the raw product.

The inshore fishermen feel very much incensed at the fish corporations, who for past generations were ex professio engaged in the processing, manufacturing and merchandising of fish for turning to the field of primary production and competing with them in this field. The inshore fishermen left the merchandising end of the business to the fish corporations. They now suddenly find themselves stranded and without any organization on the merchandising end of the industry. If they had during the past generations , built up their own selling organizations, they perhaps could compete in the processing and merchandising phase of the business as successfully as the corporations are trying to compete in the primary production field. There can be little doubt that

they will be driven to this competition. They are doing it now with salmon, smelts, and lobsters, and with such vigor that it is only a matter of a few years when the whole traffic in these commodities will be entirely in the hands of the people. It is quite possible that the co-operative movement may extend to the whole field of the fishing industry. Necessity is the mother of invention, and the fishermen may illustrate this old adage as pertinently as anybody else.

THE LOBSTER INDUSTRY
(Supplement)

The lobster industry has been growing steadily in the Maritime provinces during the last ten years until now the province of Nova Scotia has 1200 factories, with 40 of these establishments on a short strip of land along the coast of Northumberland Strait. This rapid growth of the lobster industry is especially remarkable when we consider that a comparatively few years ago the lobster industry was looked upon as having very little commercial importance. Today, however, there are only two industries that lead it in importance in the Maritimes--coal and lumber.

Rather than describe the work carried on within these shops as a whole we will take as our example one of the factories along the northern coast of Nova Scotia, which is typical of all the lobster factories in the Maritime Provinces.

This factory operates 15 boats. In order to put the lobsters in a form suitable to be placed on the market, a staff of twenty-one workers are employed, including ten girls, eight men, two cooks, and a manager. For the lobsters sold to this factory, the fishermen receives 3 to 4 cents a pound.[1]

1. A fisherman's lobster catch usually amounts to about 12,000 pounds.

A factory establishment, such as we are describing, consists of a cannery, sleeping quarters for the fishermen and the factory employees, a bait house, and a can shop. These buildings, together with complete equipment for the running of the factory, costs at an average of $4000.00. The gear used in the trapping of the lobsters, may be owned by the factory owners or the fishermen. Regardless of who owns the gear, the lobsters are sold to the factory by contract. By the use of this contract method of obtaining the product from the fishermen, a factory is able to produce 900 cases of lobster a year, at a profit of 4 to 7 dollars a case. The expenses for such an establishment amount to $725.00 a month, which includes a pay-roll of $600.00.[1]

Now that an outline of the conditions surrounding a lobster factory has been given, let us say a word concerning the process used in getting the lobster ready for shipment. When the lobsters are brought in from the fishing boats, they are weighed, and then boiled for eleven minutes under steam. After boiling, they are placed on the cooler until the temperature has reduced sufficiently for handling and removing the meat. The meat is then separated so that the packing girls can pack the correct amount of each kind of meat in the cans. When the cans are packed they are taken to the sealing machine and sealed.[2] After sealing, the cans are

1. This does not include the fishermen's wages.
2. An ordinary machine is capable of sealing around 1400 cans an hour.

assembled and put in the retort for about thirty minutes, where they are boiled. After the cans come out of the retort, they are taken to the can shop where the are scowered and packed in cases, ready for shipment.

The greatest percentage of these canned lobsters are shipped and marketed in England. From there, the English commission merchants ship them to all the European countries.

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George Fitzgerald, Vice. Pres.	White Point, N. S.
Edward Daisley, Sec.	Dingwall, N. S.

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Captain J. McLean, Sect.	St. Margarets Village, N. S.

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J. Lawrence, Vice Pres.	Town
Charles Bridge, Sect.	Town

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CHETICAMP, Nova Scotia

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Joseph Chaisson, Vice Pres.	Town
Henry Morris, Sect.	Town

GRAND HARBY, Nova Scotia

Luke Arsenault, Pres.	Town
M. S. Aucorn, Vice Pres.	Town
Dennis Corsier, Sect.	Town

MARGAREE HARBOR, Nova Scotia

J. P. Aucorn, Pres.	Town
J. D. Doucet, Vice Pres.	Town
T. D. Doucet, Sect.	Bellecote, N. S.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is the approximate income of the fishermen in your town?

2. How many children are there in the average family?

3. At what age do they generally leave school? What grades?

4. Is the fish sold to (a) a large fish company, (b) local merchants, (c) or co-operatively? Underline the usual way.

5. How many retail stores are there in the community? What Kinds? Owned locally?

6. Please give as many of the local prices for the following foods as you can:

a) Sugar
b) Butter
c) Flour
d) Potatoes
f) Eggs
g) Bacon
h) Oat meal
i) Oranges

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O'Brien
Maritime fisheries: a problem in cooperation

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